

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

'History of American Trotskyism' to be released in three languages
— PAGE 9

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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U.S. gov't seeks to reverse limits on FBI's powers

Aims to push back conquests of Black, antiwar movements

U.S. attorney general John Ashcroft's announcement of new rules allowing FBI agents to snoop on public meetings, church functions, and Internet sites is a probe by the U.S. rulers to see if they can reverse the restrictions on the secret police that were imposed on them as the result of massive battles that toppled Jim Crow segregation, the rebellions by Blacks against cop brutality and racist discrimination, as well as the movement to end Washington's brutal war against the Vietnamese people.

Like other probes, how far the rulers can roll back earlier gains will be tested in

erode civil liberties.

In implementing the latest changes in FBI regulations, government officials will likely be careful at first and target those they deem most vulnerable, such as immigrants from the Middle East. By going after a small sec-

tion of the working class they hope to inure the population to regular intrusions on privacy and First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and assembly.

The moves by the Justice Department go

Continued on Page 14

FBI, INS frame up Cuban in Miami on 'spy' charges

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

MIAMI—FBI and Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents stormed the house of Juan Emilio Aboy at 6:15 a.m. May 30 here. They arrested Aboy, a 41-year-old commercial diver, allegedly for spying for the government of Cuba. Apparently having no evidence to prosecute Aboy, the INS stated it will seek to deport him to Cuba.

Government authorities are trying to frame up this worker as they did with five Cuban revolutionaries convicted on various "conspiracy to commit espionage" charges last year. The big-business press is working closely with the FBI and INS on this case too, as it did with the five Cuban patriots. Within hours of his arrest supposed government evidence against Aboy has been used to find him guilty in this city's media.

"The FBI linked Aboy to the Wasp Network, too," said Bill West, chief of the na-

Continued on Page 11

EDITORIAL

struggle. Their momentum from the September 11 events is long gone. Through strikes, protests, and other actions, working people are demonstrating they are in no mood to give up their rights or sacrifice their unions just because the government says it is "fighting terrorism."

One example of this is a federal court ruling on May 29 in New Jersey that rejected the government's policy of holding secret hearings for immigrants imprisoned after September 11 and refusing to disclose information on them. That ruling came as the result of protest actions and lawsuits. The plaintiffs argued the government actions were a violation of the detainees' rights to due process and the public's right to monitor actions of government officials. The court agreed.

It was a good test and showed that the U.S. rulers and their government officials cannot simply declare conquests won in struggle by workers and farmers null and void, no matter how desperately the head of the Justice Department wants to strip them away. Instead, they will continue to bump into a wall of resistance and the relationship of class forces in their efforts to

20,000 students, teachers rally in New York against cutbacks



Teachers fighting for a decent contract joined high school and college students on streets of lower Manhattan June 5 to protest cutbacks in funds for public schools by New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg. See story on page 4.

U.S. occupation of Afghanistan accelerates conflict, war danger on Indian subcontinent

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The imperialist occupation of Afghanistan has increased the armed conflict in the region and heightened the war danger between India and Pakistan. As the U.S.-led military operations pushed the Taliban and al Qaeda forces out of Afghanistan, the operations of the two groups, along with those of similar

organizations, have grown in Pakistan.

In addition, U.S. imperialism has expanded its military exercises in and around the Indian subcontinent. It has warplanes and 1,000 troops stationed in Pakistan. U.S. rulers have also been stepping up their military ties with India. In mid-May hundreds of Indian and U.S. paratroopers conducted

joint exercises outside the northern city of Agra, the largest-ever military exercises between the two countries.

Washington maintains a strong military presence in the waters off the coast of Pakistan, with the carrier *John F. Kennedy* already operating there and other warships within a few days' travel time in the south China Sea and the Gulf of Aden.

U.S. officials have been pressing the government of Gen. Pervez Musharraf in Islamabad to allow their forces to conduct "hot pursuit" raids across the Afghan border. The FBI and other U.S. agencies are already involved with Pakistani intelligence and military forces in the arrest of people they claim to be Taliban or al Qaeda officials.

In the view of the imperialists, these steps are needed because among the hundreds of people imprisoned by U.S. and allied forces since the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan there are few high-ranking officials of either group; nor are there others of "intelligence value" to Washington. What U.S. and other officials conclude is that most simply slipped across the border to Pakistan.

For more than 20 years the Pakistani government has been funding and training what

Continued on Page 8

School janitors rally in Miami, push back antiunion drive by city

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

MIAMI—Janitors and other maintenance workers at 27 Miami-Dade public schools scored a victory against job cuts and other concessions demanded by the local school board. On May 23, the board agreed to postpone a plan to privatize school maintenance and lay off as many as 300 workers. School and state officials were forced to back down after tumultuous protests by workers, who are organized by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Hundreds of union members and their supporters gathered for a rally outside the

May 15 school board meeting, which had been scheduled to discuss and vote on the plan. "We have a no-strike clause in our contract, so we came to demonstrate as we've done before to stop this plan," said one worker.

Later that evening, while the board was discussing an unrelated issue, several dozen AFSCME members marched into the auditorium where hundreds of their co-workers were already seated. The audience erupted in support. Many chanted, "Stand together, demand respect."

School board chair Perla Hantman called

Continued on Page 5

Israeli regime transforms occupation of West Bank

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

As their tanks and troops mount repeated invasions of Palestinian cities and communities, the Israeli armed forces are digging ditches and raising barbed-wire fences to transform the military and police occupation of the West Bank.

The Israeli government is targeting areas of strongest Palestinian resistance for cordoning off with fences and other barricades, forcing residents to come and go through military checkpoints, similar to the way the regime controls Palestinian travel in and out of the Gaza Strip.

Hundreds of young men have also been rounded up in the latest actions.

Israeli deputy defensive minister Dalia Rabin-Pelosoff paid back-handed tribute to the resistance of the Palestinian masses and their refusal to submit to the military on-

Continued on Page 12

Also Inside:

- 'It's solidarity across the board,' affirm Hershey strikers 2
- Maori people in New Zealand oppose construction of jail 3
- Good turnout for opening day at Pathfinder bookstore in Hazleton, Pennsylvania 4
- Coal miners in Scotland fight closing of mine 10
- Black Lung Association meeting assesses next steps in fight for compensation 13

Hershey strikers affirm, 'It's solidarity across the board'

BY JOHN STAGGS

HERSHEY, Pennsylvania—More than 1,500 workers turned out for the two-shift regular monthly meeting of Chocolate Workers Local 464 here. It was the largest regular membership meeting in the 65-year history of the local.

The Harrisburg *Patriot News* called the meeting "a solidarity session." Todd Zollick, a worker leaving the meeting early for picket duty, said, "It's solidarity across the board....The people will last as long as it takes."

The 2,700 members of Chocolate Workers Local 464, affiliated with the Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union, have been on strike since April 26. The strikers stopped production at two of Hershey's plants—the Old West Chocolate Avenue plant and the East Chocolate Avenue plant, both in Hershey, Pennsylvania.

The central issue in the strike is the Hershey Food Company's proposal to drastically increase the workers' health-care co-pay. The minimum change is a 100 percent increase, but for many workers with families it will be a 212 percent hike, going from \$87 to \$236 a month. Ruth Ellen Kissenger, a union steward on the "Kisses" line, said, "What really hurts is that we all have to pay \$36 a month for a prescription card, whether we use it or not."

Support for the strikers is nearly continuous from the drivers of cars and trucks going by the picket line. Messages of solidarity from other unions and workers around the country are posted on the walls of the union hall as well.

Donna Hopple, branch president of Local 464, thought that one reason so many workers showed up at the union meeting was outrage at a four-page letter the company sent to all the strikers, signed by Vice President Ray Brace. Hershey then spent thousands of dollars reproducing it in full-page ads in local papers.

One line in particular riled a lot of work-

ers. It read, "Other Hershey workers had all accepted the increase." But the workers at Hershey's Reese's plant in town and at a number of other plants around the country are not members of the union and had no say in the increase; it was imposed on them. An increasing number of workers at the Reese's plant have stopped by the Local 464 union hall.

"The Reese's workers have shown us a lot more support through money donations and food drives," said striker Miles Fogelman. "If we win, it will be a lot easier to organize them into our union."

After five weeks on strike, the mood of the strikers remains confident. As strikers check in for picket duty at the union hall they all receive a copy of the daily *Strike Hotline* '02. The Day 37 edition referred to a column from the previous day's *Lebanon Daily News*, the local paper for roughly half the strikers.

In the column, Dave Smith, the newspaper's publisher, said that the leaders of Chocolate Workers Local 464 "are taking the strike to absurd lengths.... The leaders...continue to incite their members to remain on strike despite" a contract wage offer that will "ensure those members will remain the highest-paid corps of unskilled and semiskilled workers in the region, possibly in the state."



Militant/George Chalmers

Strikers at Hershey Foods Corp. walk picket line in Hershey, Pennsylvania. After five weeks on strike, the mood of the unionists remains confident.

Several pickets said they thought the publisher's column was so anti-worker and antiunion they were planning to cancel their subscriptions.

The antiunion tone of Vice President Brace's letter to the strikers has helped change many workers' attitude toward Hershey Foods. One example was given by Judy Seaman, who has been employed at the company for 17 years. Seaman said that while working on the chip line she had been

asked by the bosses to be on the special "chip line team." The team's purpose, she said, was to increase production. "We did raise production, and this," she said, pointing to the picket line, "is what we get for it. The first thing I'm going to do when we get back is quit the team."

John Staggs is a meat packer in Philadelphia, and a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union.

Thousands rally against layoffs at Verizon

BY MAGGIE TROWE

NEW YORK—Several thousand members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) held a rally in front of the Verizon offices in midtown Manhattan May 29, chanting "Not one job!" and "CWA, CWA!"

The workers were protesting Verizon's announcement May 7 of its intention to lay off nearly 1,400 CWA members in New York State. A union fact sheet distributed at the

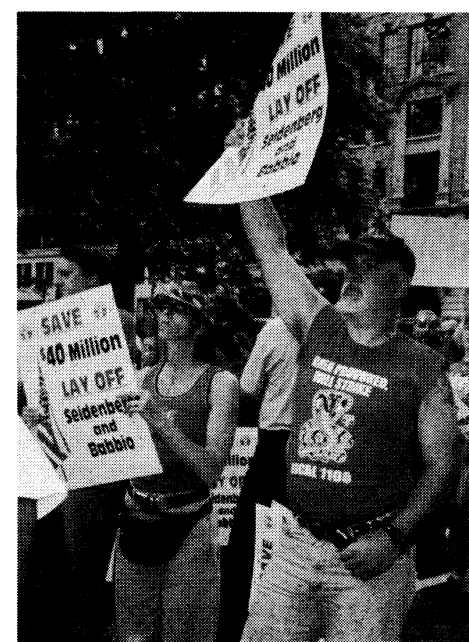
event explained that these layoffs would be the first in the history of the local phone company in New York. Unionists charge that the proposed layoffs violate the job security language of the 1994 contract.

Verizon, listed as the 11th largest company in the United States on the Fortune 500 list, has total assets of \$170 billion. The company's adjusted net income in 2001 was \$8.2 billion before a series of one-time charges reduced reported profit for the year to \$400 million.

"I'm here to stop them from laying people off," Emmett Moore, 52, told the *Militant*. Moore is a grid technician and cable splicer. "The company has backed off until August 1, for any layoffs, but it's just a reprieve. They want to start with the upstate workers. Then they'll come after us," he said. "We're a union. We're going to stand together and fight. We don't want one layoff."

Moore said that Verizon needs more workers, not fewer, to keep up with maintenance and installation. "The cables are in bad shape," he said. "It would take 11 years to repair the existing cable at the rate the company is doing it. And people wait months for DSL lines."

Wade Magwood, 32, said, "I don't want to see one person lose their job. If we let



Militant

Workers protest job cuts at Verizon.

them start it will never end."

"I've been pro-union since I started with the company," said Krista Inman, 31. "Verizon claims because of 'external events' they will lay people off. I don't like it."

THE MILITANT

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Maori in New Zealand oppose new jail

BY FELICITY COGGAN
AND JANET ROTH

NGAWHA, New Zealand—"We're the ordinary man, the ordinary woman, the people of the land. There's nothing great about us, except this land was special, given to our ancestors, and we're not about to fall down and say this is a done deal."

This was how Riana WiHongi described the decision of Maori in this small community in the Northland region of New Zealand to occupy the site where a prison is under construction.

On June 1 a protest convoy of cars drove slowly through the nearby town of Kaikohe, then parked at the cemetery. The group walked the remainder of the way to the prison site through driving rain, where they were welcomed by elders with speeches and songs.

Already some tents had been erected and protest banners and flags strung across the fence around the construction site. Hot food was served in an old farm shed which had been turned into a makeshift kitchen.

Then the work began of building toilets and other necessary facilities for an occupation, putting down metal grids and wooden pallets to make a path through the mud, and organizing of other details.

Four days later the occupation ended when police moved onto the site and arrested 37 of the protesters after the Minister of Corrections invoked the Trespass Act.

The land the prison is planned to be built on is a geothermal field, the only one in Northland. Of the estimated \$NZ100 million cost for construction, half will be spent on stabilizing the site (NZ\$1 = US 49 cents). This includes diverting the Ngawha stream and installing 20,000 wick drains to take water run-off. The water runs to nearby mineral hot pools.

Riana WiHongi and Toi Maihi explained that they consider this land sacred because of these waters. Generations have bathed at the Ngawha Springs and drunk the water for their healing properties. In addition, Maori who have fallen in battle in the area over centuries are buried here.

WiHongi said local Maori protested when a geothermal power station was built in 1992 at Ngawha, drawing on the same source of water, and the children of those protesters are today opposing the prison.

More than half of prisoners are Maori

While Maori are 15 percent of the population nationally, more than half of prison inmates are Maori. The prison at Ngawha is one of four new institutions planned for different regions. The Labour-led coalition government presents its prison policies as helping Maori, justifying its choice of sites on the grounds that they will enable inmates to be close to their home areas and families.

WiHongi rubbished this, pointing out that most members of Ngapuhi, the local tribe, live outside of Northland. Most live in Auckland, where 25 percent of Maori nationally live.

The government considered a number of places before choosing Ngawha, which did not rank highly in the initial assessments of suitable sites for a prison. "Why put a prison on a geothermal field?" asked WiHongi. "It is only logical in the sense of the continued oppression of Maori."

"My personal opinion is that they picked on a poor community over other more affluent sites where people had money to fight [a prison proposal] and they assumed we wouldn't," she said. "I think it's really just outright injustice." Added Toi Maihi, "One would think it was racist and when you look at it, it actually is."

WiHongi said that another group of Maori, Ngati Hine, had offered to have the prison, but would only lease the land to the government, not sell it, and had proposed that Maori plan and run the rehabilitation programs. The government rejected this and instead pressured a farmer to sell them his land at Ngawha.

Cyril Chapman explained that the decision to build a prison in Northland was based on government forecasts of a further increase in the number of Maori prisoners. "They're paving a pathway for our future—incarcerate our children," said Chapman. He contrasted the \$100 million to be spent on the prison to the government spending only \$1 million per year over three years to improve Maori education, and \$1 million to build a polytechnic college at Kerikeri in Northland.

Chapman said the government's priorities were shown in the announcement a few days earlier that Kaitia Hospital in Northland had suspended weekend and after-hours surgery because of lack of skilled staff. This is part of a more generalized crisis in providing health services, particularly in rural areas.

Conditions Maori face

Nearly 30 percent of Northland's population is Maori. It is known as one of the poorest regions in the country. This has been exemplified by the number of people burnt to death in house fires in recent years, caused by working people in substandard housing using candles instead of electricity. Northland has the highest official unemployment rate in New Zealand, with one in 10 out of a job, "and all they can give us is a jail," commented Riana WiHongi.

The region is also a tourist and holiday destination, long known for its mansions, golf courses, and boating facilities for the wealthy.

Chapman explained some of the history of his family's forced dispossession from

their land over the last century. "Here we are over 100 years later, another insult," he said of the prison.

The decision to occupy comes after years of efforts to stop the prison. These include meetings with government representatives, taking legal cases to different courts, and protest rallies and marches. For example, Riana WiHongi explained they proposed to the minister of corrections, Matthew Robson, that debates around the region be organized with three speakers for the prison and three against. Instead, Robson organized meetings with speakers for the prison pro-

posal only, and despite facing opposition at these meetings, went ahead with his decision to build the prison at Ngawha.

Protesters are angry that construction was begun before their appeal against the Environment Court ruling allowing the prison to proceed has been heard. As well, no decision has been made on their application for a stay of execution to stop work until the appeal is heard.

Felicity Coggan is a sewing machine operator and Janet Roth is a meat worker. Both belong to the National Distribution Union.

New Jersey rally demands justice for garment worker killed by cops



Close to 100 people rallied in front of the police headquarters in Bloomfield, New Jersey, May 31, to demand justice for victim of police brutality Santiago Villanueva.

BY ABBY TILSNER

BLOOMFIELD, New Jersey—Nearly 100 people rallied here May 31 in front of the police headquarters to continue the fight for justice for Santiago Villanueva. The Dominican-born garment worker was killed April 16 by cops at his workplace in front of co-workers and the factory owner.

An autopsy by the regional medical examiner's office found that Villanueva, an epileptic, had died from "mechanical asphyxia" and ruled that his death was a homicide. Donald Campolo, an assistant attorney general who is the acting Essex County prosecutor, said the medical determination of homicide does not necessarily mean a crime occurred. A grand jury would

review the case, he said, and decide if the cops had committed a crime.

The city officials "do not want to take a strong position for justice in this case because it was four white cops killing a Black man," said Nina Paulino, one of the organizers of the demonstration. "They tried to make this an isolated case, but Santiago was a victim of racial profiling and police brutality," Paulino called for the suspension of the police who killed the man.

During her remarks protesters chanted, "Jail the killer cops!" and "Justicia!" (justice). Villanueva lived in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan where he was well-known as a musician and volunteer teacher of Dominican folk dancing. When the factory moved to New Jersey, he began commuting to work. Protests demanding justice have involved friends from Manhattan as well as opponents of police brutality in New Jersey.

One of the demonstrators, New Jersey resident Curtis Knight, said that he came to the rally because "I'm also a victim of injustice. I spent nine and a half years in New Jersey prisons framed up on a murder charge."

Several organizations participated in the action, including the Justice for Chago committee, Dominicans 2000, Peoples Organization for Progress, and the Socialist Workers Party.

The cops assaulted Villanueva after responding to a call from the garment factory for medical emergency. According to workers at the plant, when the cops arrived they yelled at Villanueva, who was having an epileptic seizure.

The police ordered him to speak English and accused him of being on drugs. Ignoring pleas by his co-workers about his medical condition, the cops threw Villanueva face-down on the floor, handcuffed him, and shoved their knees into his head, neck, and back. He died a short time later at Columbus Hospital in Newark.

Two state legislators, Assembly Speaker Albio Sires and Assemblyman Rafael Fraguera, co-signed a letter to New Jersey attorney general David Sampson raising concerns that the county prosecutor office's close ties with the Bloomfield police department would hamper the investigation of the garment worker's death.

Villanueva "was a man who needed medical treatment," they wrote. "Instead he was handcuffed like a criminal suspect."

Ted Leonard works at the Kayem Foods plant in Chelsea, Massachusetts.

Massachusetts meat packers fight for a union

BY TED LEONARD

CHELSEA, Massachusetts—"Congratulations. We the Kayem workers have filed our petition for our union election," read a flyer distributed at the Kayem Foods plant here May 28. More than 300 people work at the deli meats and hot dog manufacturer and many of them signed cards to authorize a vote for recognition of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union.

Workers at the plant have twice fought to win union recognition. In 1999 and again a year later the union failed to receive enough votes to win representation elections.

The flyer announcing the filing of the petition also explained that "this time things are different." One difference, reflecting the greater unity among workers in the plant, is the fact that the flyer was produced in four languages—Spanish, English, Polish, and Serbo-Croatian.

Echoing this theme, Wilmer Sosa, a worker in the plant and a veteran of the previous organizing drives, explained in an interview with the *Militant* why union activists were confident about winning this time. "We have more support this year with all

the nationalities in the plant—the Bosnians and the Polish. People have been through this process before and they know that the company will make a lot of promises that that they won't keep."

After the election in 2000 scores of complaints were filed by the union with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), charging the company with carrying out illegal activities before and during the election.

An NLRB hearing on the charge was held earlier this year. At the end of the proceedings lawyers for Kayem announced they would appeal any ruling against the company. The judge has yet to issue a decision on the charges.

The union has charged the company with demanding employees produce their work permits and immigration papers during the pre-election period to discourage union activity and votes for the union. About two-thirds of the workers in the plant are immigrants from Latin America, mainly Central America. Another 15 percent are from Poland and Bosnia.

The union also charged that Kayem engaged in coercive surveillance of union activity, that the company required employees to attend one-on-one meetings with the bosses, and that company officials threatened to reduce benefits and/or move the plant if the union won the election.

Over the past months workers at the plant have organized to respond to different provocation's by the company. One involved a fight for a raise that began when workers

found a co-worker's pay stub in the locker room. They did the same job as the co-worker in a different department but made 50 cents an hour less. The fight included a couple dozen workers twice getting meetings with the bosses. Although the workers who found the check did not receive a wage increase, they did win additional pay for workers on the second shift in the same department who did the same job.

When Kayem challenged a doctor's note putting a female worker under weight lifting restrictions, 10 co-workers went with her to the personnel department to support her.

At the same time as the UFCW is involved in the organizing drive at Kayem the union is facing a decertification drive at 11 Shaw's Supermarket stores in nearby Worcester. In February, a majority of the workers at the stores signed a petition to drop representation by the union. UFCW officials explained that employees were told if they stayed with the union, their costs for health insurance would more than double, to almost \$78 a week, but if they abandoned the union, their costs would stay the same.

In April two UFCW officials were arrested at a Shaw's Supermarket on trespassing charges. A *Boston Herald* news article about the arrests and the decertification of the union was copied and taped on walls and around time clocks in the Kayem plant by those opposing the organizing effort.

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Good turnout at new Pathfinder store in eastern Pennsylvania

BY JACK WILLEY

The new Pathfinder bookstore in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, opened its doors to the public on the June 1-2 weekend. Betsy Farley, a coal miner and volunteer at the bookstore, reported that a steady stream of people passed through during the first two days. Several bought copies of the *Militant* and catalogs of Pathfinder books.

A young man who has subscribed to the *Militant* for a couple of years came from Harrisburg to help staff the bookstore and joined a team distributing revolutionary literature from a regular street corner table. He picked up a copy of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* during his visit.

A packinghouse worker who lives near the bookstore helped translate a publicity flyer into Spanish. He urged socialists to talk with workers at the Excel meatpacking plant where he works to help get out the word.

One worker from the Dominican Republic, after perusing the books, exclaimed, "almuerzo!" (lunch). He said the bookstore contained so much food for his mind that it was difficult to figure out what to buy first.

A Vietnam-era veteran who stopped by took a rain check for *Out Now*, the story of the anti-Vietnam War movement in the United States. He also plans to pick up *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, which chronicles the successful fight of a World War II veteran who was fired because of his communist views.

Pathfinder volunteers are gearing up for a grand opening event June 8. Speakers at the opening will include Frank Forrestal, National Committee member of the Social-

ist Workers Party, and Ma'mud Shirvani, the Farsi-language editor for Pathfinder Press. There will be a dinner at 6:00 p.m. and the program begins at 7:30 p.m.



The Hazleton Standard-Speaker ran an article in the business section of the paper June 1 covering the opening of the bookstore. Printed below is an excerpt from the article, titled, "Pathfinder is first bookstore in city since early 1990s."

BY KENT JACKSON

Struggles described on Tim Mailhot's shelves have touched Hazleton.

One volume he plucks from its place in the Pathfinder Bookstore, which is scheduled to open today, has a chapter on The Great Coal Strike that began 100 years ago in Hazleton.

Another volume, *Mother Jones Speaks*, contains the words of one of the activists who came to town during the strike.

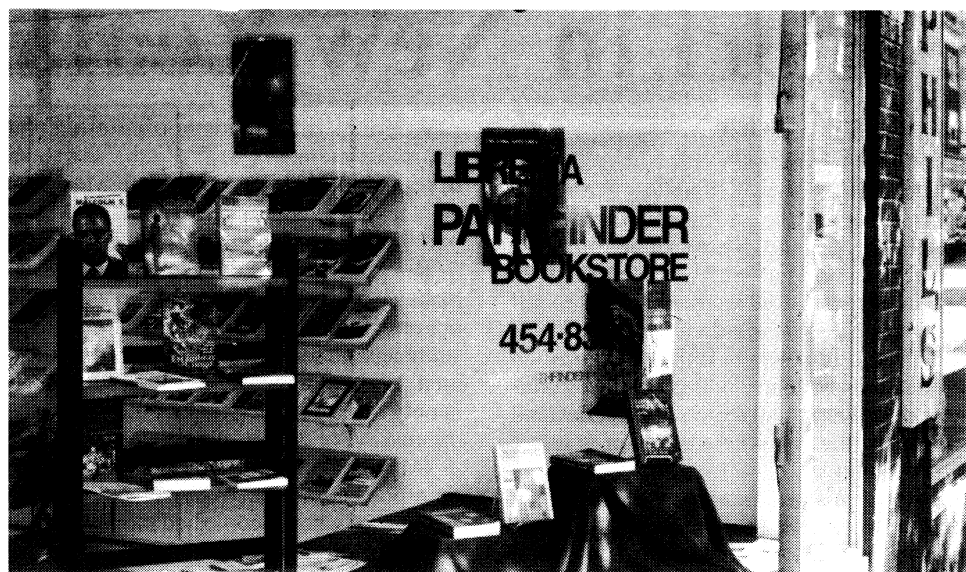
"She didn't look at working people as helpless people. They were the ones that could do the fight and could win," Mailhot said.

Mailhot too has been around scenes of strife. His last address, before moving to Hazleton two years ago, was a cradle of the Civil Rights Movement, Birmingham, Ala.

In Hazleton, Mailhot has seen residents of the Laurel Gardens struggle for relief from gasoline spilled beneath their neighborhood.

He arrived after miners at Jeddo Coal went through a year-long strike that ended in 1999.

"People that get into a struggle, their ho-



Militant/Bernie Senter

Storefront of new Pathfinder bookstore in Hazleton, Pennsylvania.

rizons are broadened," Mailhot said.

He thinks the people of Hazleton might want to check out the books published by the Pathfinder Press that he sells at the store at 69 N. Wyoming St.

Pathfinder publishes approximately 350 titles in English, Spanish and other lan-

guages.

Most of Pathfinder's books have a leftist take on labor, international politics and history, but the firm also published speeches and papers of the Socialist Workers Party and firebrands like Mother Jones and Malcolm X.

Students and teachers protest education cuts in New York

BY DAN FEIN AND BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK—More than 20,000 teachers and students rallied in the streets of lower Manhattan June 4 to back the teachers' fight for a decent contract and to protest Mayor Michael Bloomberg's plan to slash \$356 million in funding from the public schools.

The action, which was sponsored by the United Federation of Teachers, hip-hop music promoter Russell Simmons, and the Alliance for Quality Education, was the largest protest action yet in the teachers' year-

and-a-half-long fight for a new contract. Public school teachers in the city have been working without an agreement since November 2000.

"We deserve a decent contract and shouldn't have to wait," said Bridget Laird, a teacher at P.S. 59 in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn. She expressed the sentiment of thousands of teachers from all five boroughs who packed the downtown streets for the action.

Many sported handmade signs with slogans such as, "We're not baby-sitters. We're educators;" "No cash = No books, no supplies, no learning;" and "Teachers have families that need to eat. No cuts." Some wore buttons that read, "I don't want to strike, don't force me."

Among the most enthusiastic participants were the many high school students who accompanied their teachers to the rally. Dozens came from Clara Barton High School in Brooklyn, among others.

"I spend \$1,200 per year for school supplies out of my own pocket," stated Idi Hendrikse, who teaches at P373K in Brooklyn. "We are only giving and not getting anything back."

Vernadette Hill, who teaches fifth and sixth graders at P.S. 50 in south Jamaica, Queens, commented, "They want us to teach children with less than we already have. We already have more children than books for them."

Mario Asaro, a teacher at Junior High School 157 in Rego Park, Queens, pointed to the importance of having a coalition of groups forming around the issue of defending public education. "It's not just teachers' responsibility," he said. "It affects everyone." He had been to several teacher-organized protests over the past year, but thought this was "one of the better demonstrations."

"The issue here is not just about money, it's about respect," stated Elaine Asaro, who also teaches at the Rego Park school. "Teachers in the city are not treated with respect."

The action had been publicized on several local hip-hop radio stations. Thousands of teenagers, most of them Black, joined teachers with union hats and T-shirts at City Hall Park, many arriving early for the action. No sooner had the rally started than the cops broke up the mobilization, using the excuse of the allegedly rowdy behavior of some of the Black youth in attendance.

"It was tragic to shut down our rally," stated Mark Nichik, who teaches at P.S. 721. "New York has the highest cost of living and its teachers are among the lowest paid in the country."

The United Federation of Teachers had a permit for recorded sound and music only, so the cops tried to shut down live music performances by some of the hip-hop artists in attendance. Internationally acclaimed singer Wyclef Jean was arrested for attempting to perform on stage.

"The right to demonstrate is a basic right. What happened today is inexcusable," said Flora Juang, a teacher at Stuyvesant High School in Manhattan.

Opening of Tampa bookstore boosts fund

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

"The 25 people who attended the June 2 grand opening of the new Pathfinder bookstore in Tampa, Florida, were quite a cross section of working people in the area," wrote Henry Hillenbrand to the *Militant*. The event raised almost \$700 for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* fund drive, bringing supporters of the socialist press close to meeting their local goal of \$800.

Running through to June 15, the international appeal aims to raise \$50,000 toward the annual costs of producing and distributing the English-language weekly and Spanish-language monthly.

"A worker in meatpacking who has been reading the *Militant* for several months was there," wrote Hillenbrand. "This was the first meeting like this he had attended. Two young women who just graduated from high school also showed up. They had found out about the event from an announcement in the local newspaper, and wanted to learn more about socialism."

A number of longtime supporters of the *Militant* in the area attended, Hillenbrand reported. "A retired steelworker who has read the *Militant* off and on over the last year decided to come," he added. "He bought a subscription to the paper. Two other participants purchased copies of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* by Jack Barnes—a book that is at the center of the current drive to increase the circulation of the socialist press."

Jack Willey, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a staff writer for the *Militant*, was the speaker at the Tampa event. His presentation was entitled, "From Haiti to the U.S. and Canada: Prospects for Building an International Socialist Movement of Working People and Youth." In mid-May Willey had traveled to Haiti as part of an SWP and Young Socialists delegation to a meeting of university students and young socialists in Port-au-Prince, the country's capital.

Willey and several other members of the Haiti delegation—Arrin Hawkins and Nancy Séguin, leaders of the YS in the United States and Canada respectively, and SWP member Rollande Girard—have spoken or are planning to speak on a similar theme at *Militant/PM* fund events in a number of cities.

Hawkins' June 1 presentation in Newark, New Jersey, was well received and prompted a number of questions. Supporters pledged or

contributed some \$1,300 toward the local goal of \$2,000.

Cleveland supporters of the *Militant* and *PM* invited SWP leader Frank Forrestal to speak at their fund meeting on June 1. "The afternoon of the meeting," wrote Carole Lesnick, "Forrestal and three other *Militant* supporters joined the picket line of Teamsters union members at the Cargill Whiskey Island Salt Mine. The striking miners expressed their appreciation of the *Militant*'s coverage of their struggle to establish a five-day workweek, Monday through Friday."

Fund drive campaigners in Des Moines, Iowa, invited a socialist involved in the union organizing drive of packinghouse workers in Omaha, Nebraska, to speak at their June 2 meeting. "He focused his talk on the growing resistance by workers and farmers to imperialism's assaults at home and abroad," reported Joe Swanson.

"A woman meat packer who has helped to lead the pro-union drive in Omaha came to the meeting," Swanson added. "This was the first such forum she had attended. Afterwards, she purchased two books of writings by Lenin and Marx and the June issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*."

"We raised \$425 toward our goal in Des Moines of \$1,000," wrote Swanson, noting that the "delicious meal" put on by volunteers hadn't done any harm to the results of the meeting.

Houston supporters are building and preparing a fund event for June 15, reported Jacquie Fitzgerald. Entitled "Cuba and the Coming American Revolution," the meeting will feature Young Socialists leader Olympia Newton from Los Angeles.

Political meetings like these, now under preparation in many cities, will help supporters step up the pace of soliciting and collecting funds. Such an acceleration is needed to make the goal in the two weeks remaining.

The experience and approach of supporters in New Zealand are instructive. "We have raised the goals here by 50 percent," wrote Mike Tucker from Auckland. "This is the result of pledges and donations from *Militant* supporters going well over the original targets that we projected. The challenge now is to do the follow-up work to get all this money in over the remaining two weeks."

Militant/PM May 1—June 15 International Fund Drive

	Goal	Paid	%
NY Garment District	4,000	2,690	67%
Seattle	4,000	2,409	60%
Brooklyn	1,800	1,042	58%
Des Moines	1,000	570	57%
Cleveland	1,000	510	51%
Upper Manhattan	2,500	1,235	49%
Chicago	3,000	1,370	46%
St. Paul	3,500	1,385	40%
Washington DC	1,600	495	31%
Los Angeles	5,000	1,480	30%
Charlotte	2,700	750	28%
Atlanta	2,000	550	28%
Detroit	1,500	334	22%
Newark	2,000	420	21%
Allentown	800	155	19%
Omaha	660	100	15%
Western Colorado	2,000	250	13%
San Francisco	5,500	465	8%
Miami	1,000	75	8%
Birmingham	2,000	0	0%
Boston	1,850	0	0%
Houston	2,800	0	0%
Philadelphia	2,000	0	0%
Pittsburgh	2,000	0	0%
Tampa	800	0	0%
Other	0	100	
U.S. Total	57,010	16,385	29%
New Zealand	945	489	52%
Australia	875	250	29%
Canada	1,900	450	24%
Sweden	400	70	18%
United Kingdom	300	0	0%
Int'l Total	61,430	17,644	29%
Total Should be	50,000	30,000	60%

Regional teams set for Midwest packing plants

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Heading into two days of sales June 8-9 to wrap up a target week in the international campaign to win new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, partisans of the two periodicals are organizing special regional teams, door-to-door and on-the-job sales, and street-corner literature tables in workers districts to get back on track in the subscription drive. Teams are in the works to sell the publications to workers at packinghouses in the Midwest, miners in the coalfields of central Illinois, farm workers in California, and in other areas where workers are involved in labor struggles.

Socialist workers and young socialists in the Midwest are planning sales teams to Worthington and Austin, Minnesota, and Sioux Falls, South Dakota, an area with one of the largest meatpacking concentrations in the United States. Another sales team will visit Omaha, Nebraska, to talk to workers following the recent union election victory at ConAgra's Northern State Beef plant.

Partisans of the circulation drive from several areas, including Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, the New York Garment District, and Newark, New Jersey, will attend the grand opening of the Pathfinder bookstore in Hazleton in the northeast Pennsylvania coal region. On the way to the event they will sell the *Militant* and *PM* to workers, farmers, and youth in the surrounding area.

Militant staff members Martin Koppel and Jack Willey, who will speak at *Militant* Fund events in Boston and Miami respectively, will team up with others to sell the socialist press in those cities over the weekend. Other staff members will also take the weekend to boost sales efforts elsewhere.

Steve Warshell said that socialist garment workers in Houston "are spearheading a team to the Rio Grande Valley where they plan to get back to workers they met at the two Levi's plants in Brownsville and San Benito, Texas. The workers face plant closings in the near future. We also plan to go to neighborhoods in working-class districts in those two towns."

Campaigners also plan to set up a literature table on the campus of the University of Texas in Brownsville, he said, and another one at the Mexican-U.S. border. "This past week we sold three subscriptions to the *Militant* and a *PM* subscription at our weekly table in a working-class area of Houston. We also sold one subscription to each of the publications at nearby apartment buildings, where we met Rafael, who had worked in the California grape fields. He

had been a member of the United Farm Workers union and asked us to come back for follow-up political discussions. 'The union was strong when I worked in California, and I made decent money,' he told us. 'But we had to fight for every bit of it.'"

From Seattle John Naubert said that at the University of Washington campaign participants had sold *Militant* subscriptions to a young woman from Afghanistan and a student from Iran. "They decided to subscribe after we explained what the *Militant* and Pathfinder Press are about. By the end of the day we had sold more than \$100 worth of Pathfinder titles," he said.

"As part of our activities for the target week," added Naubert, "we are organizing another day team at the University of Washington and a regional team to a large IBP meatpacking plant near Pasco in eastern Washington state that has a history of struggle."

"The target week is off to a good start in Des Moines," wrote Joe Swanson from the Iowa capital. "Last Saturday three of us hit the streets early and sold a *Militant* subscription at the farmers market downtown. Later we sold two subs door-to-door just a few blocks from the Pathfinder bookstore. We gained our last *Militant* subscription for the day off a table that we set up on the steps of the Iowa state capitol during the Rally for Justice and Peace in the Middle East."

Supporters in Toronto are driving ahead to make their goals, reported Patricia O'Beirne. "We're doing weekly sales in the workers district where the Pathfinder bookstore is located, following up with students and people we've met at demonstrations in support of the Palestinian struggle, and selling the press to co-workers in meatpacking plants and garment factories."

Two students at York University decided to subscribe to the *Militant* after buying a copy of the paper, she said. "Two other people purchased *Militant* subscriptions at their apartment complex, which is near the Pathfinder bookstore. Another



Militant/Carole Lesnick
Protesters buy *Militant* and Pathfinder books at May 19 rally in Toledo, Ohio, against Israeli military assault on Palestinian people.

person who bought a subscription at our weekly table near the subway stop came back the next day to buy *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* and *Capitalism's World Disorder* by Jack Barnes."

Meeting in Canada will celebrate French edition of 'History of American Trotskyism'

BY MICHEL PRAIRIE

MONTREAL—Pathfinder's *L'histoire du trotskysme américain, 1928-1938*, the French-language translation of *The History of American Trotskyism*, by James P. Cannon, is off the press.

The Communist League and Young Socialists, along with supporters of Pathfinder in Canada, are building a meeting to celebrate the publication of *L'histoire du trotskysme américain* to be held in Montreal June 15 (see add on page 9). The meeting will feature a number of speakers, including Jack Barnes, Socialist Workers Party national secretary and author of the new preface to the book.

School janitors rally, push back attack

Continued from front page

a recess for 20 minutes, as the workers took over the meeting, chanting nonstop. By midnight, the board voted 6-3 to postpone action on the privatization plan for one week. The plan had been recommended by a state oversight board in order to cut maintenance costs.

Hundreds of school custodians prepared another protest for the school board meeting May 23. That day the state oversight board gave school administrators and union officials one month to come up with other ways to reduce costs.

In a special afternoon meeting that lasted one minute, school superintendent Merrett Stierheim announced the privatization plan was pulled and Hantman gavelled the meeting closed.

Meanwhile, the Miami-Dade School Board voted May 22 to impose a two-day pay cut on nearly all district employees, effective before June 30. The \$30 million cut was taken to "ease a budget crunch" despite vehement objections by labor unions. Hundreds of teachers protested the decision that day, and have continued demonstrations since then.

This is the first major work published in French by a founding leader of the Communist Party and then of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. It is now available almost 30 years after Cannon's death and 60 years after the 12 talks recorded in the book were presented to working-class audiences in New York City.

This 20th century classic of the communist movement retraces the effort to build a revolutionary working-class party in the United States, and partly also in Canada, on the model of the Bolshevik leadership of the Russian revolution of October 1917. The book begins with the enormous impact of the Russian Revolution internationally and in the United States, and ends on New Years Day in 1938 with the founding convention of the SWP.

The History of American Trotskyism is a key tool to understand the unbroken programmatic, strategic and organizational continuity of the communist movement in North America, from the Russian Revolution to today. Its publication in French makes this invaluable weapon available to a broadened working-class readership in Canada, the U.S. and many other countries of the world.

The publication of *L'histoire du trotskysme américain* is the result of a worldwide effort—from France and Belgium, to Canada, the U.S. and Haiti—by dozens of volunteers who translated and edited it, formatted and proofread it, and designed attractive new cover and ads.

As part of the publication of the French-language edition of the book, a signature of 24 pages of photos has been prepared, bringing to life many of the events and characters mentioned by Cannon, as well as describing aspects of the political work of the communist movement in the U.S. and internationally. This photo signature will be added to the original English-language edition of the book and to the upcoming first edition in Spanish.

AMIEU—Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union; MUA—Maritime Union of Australia; MWU—Meat Workers Union; NDU—National Distribution Union; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA—United Mine Workers of America; UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textiles Employees

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Subscription Drive April 13-June 23 (week 7)

	Militant			PM		Book	
Country	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Sweden							
Gothenburg*	16	14	88%	3	2	9	7
Stockholm	10	9	90%	3	2	5	3
Sweden Total	26	23	88%	6		14	10
Canada							
Vancouver	30	27	90%	6	1	20	13
Toronto	30	20	67%	6	2	15	13
Montreal	15	7	47%	5	4	16	14
Canada total	75	54	72%	17	7	51	40
New Zealand							
Auckland	10	8	80%	1		5	2
Christchurch	8	5	63%	1		3	2
N.Z. total	18	13	72%	2		8	4
United Kingdom							
London	35	23	66%	12	5	20	12
Dundee		2					2
UK total	35	25	71%	12	5	20	14
United States							
Los Angeles	35	29	83%	15	11	10	6
Washington	25	18	72%	12	9	15	13
Allentown*	25	17	68%	8	5	10	1
Miami	30	20	67%	15	1	15	7
Seattle*	38	25	66%	12	5	16	13
Tampa	25	16	64%	6	4	12	6
NY Garment Dist.	80	51	64%	40	23	50	30
Brownsville	8	5	63%	3	1		3
Detroit	40	23	58%	13	10	20	13
Cleveland	25	14	56%	5	2	20	14
Charlotte	18	10	56%	7	4	10	3
San Francisco	30	16	53%	18	4	15	8
Philadelphia	25	13	52%	10	7	15	1
Pittsburgh	45	23	51%	5		20	1
Birmingham	20	10	50%	8	7	10	3
Western Colorado	18	9	50%	8	6	12	7
Brooklyn	45	22	49%	35	10	35	17
Twin Cities	50	24	48%	25	28	25	3
Upper Manhattan	75	36	48%	50	25	40	21
Houston	30	13	43%	12	8	20	11
Newark	55	22	40%	25	14	35	13
Tucson	5	2	40%	1			
Des Moines	40	15	38%	25	18	21	9
Atlanta	40	14	35%	15	8	30	15
Boston	30	11	37%	15	8	20	7
Omaha	9	3	33%	15	9	10	6
Chicago	35	8	23%	20	11	25	8
U.S. total	901	469	52%	423	238	511	239
Iceland	6	2	33%	1		4	1
Australia	20	6	30%	4	4	12	4
Int'l totals	1081	592	56%	465	254	620	312
Goal/Should be	1050	735	70%	460	322	625	437
IN THE UNIONS							
	Militant			PM		Book	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
United States							
UMWA	15	12	80%	2	2	10	1
UNITE	50	9	18%	45	8	50	6
UFCW	50	14	28%	50	35	50	21
Total	115	35	30%	97	45	110	28
Australia							
AMIEU	3	1	33%				3
MUA*	2		0%				3
Total	5	1	20%				6
Canada							
UFCW	7	2	29%	1		4	2
UNITE	3		0%	2	1	3	
Total	10	2	20%	3	1	7	2
New Zealand							
NDU	1		0%				1
MWU	2		0%				
Total	3		0%				1
raised goal*							

Labor's Giant Step

The First Twenty Years of the CIO: 1936-55

Art Preis

The story of the explosive labor struggles and political battles in the 1930s that built the industrial unions. And how those unions became the vanguard of a mass social movement that began transforming U.S. society. \$26.95

Justice Dept. announces new FBI powers

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

U.S. attorney general John Ashcroft announced May 30 that the Justice Department was adopting new guidelines to free FBI agents to spy on public gatherings, church events, and Internet sites "for the purpose of detecting or preventing terrorist activities." The secret police no longer need any indication that there is a crime being committed or planned in order to carry out such spying activity.

The action seeks to push back restrictions put in place 25 years ago in the wake of widespread exposure and condemnation of the government's counterintelligence operations (Cointelpro) against the civil rights and

antiwar movements and other political organizations opposed to government policies. These operations, which were designed to discredit, disrupt, and break up organizations fighting the government and the employers, also involved frame ups, use of agent provocateurs, and victimization of individuals through firings and blacklisting.

As with other assaults on workers' rights and military adventures abroad, the move was made under the guise of "fighting terrorism." "Our philosophy today is not to wait and sift through the rubble following a terrorist attack," said Ashcroft. "Rather, the FBI must intervene early and investigate aggressively...to scour public sources for

information on future terrorist threats."

The new Justice Department guidelines authorize the FBI to conduct wide-ranging monitoring of political organizations, religious groups, and libraries. The rules expand the spy agency's powers to snoop on web sites and online chat rooms. The bureau will also be permitted to obtain information from commercial "data mining services" of companies that collect, organize, and analyze marketing and demographic facts from the Internet.

U.S. president George Bush underscored this "philosophy" several days later in a speech to nearly 1,000 graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York.

"If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long," he said, adding that the U.S. "military must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world."

Similar moves are being carried out by governments in the 15 countries of the European Union. The European Parliament drafted a proposed law that would allow police more access to records of phone and Internet companies. The measure also requires these companies to keep information on their customers' phone calls, e-mail messages, and Internet connections long after it would be discarded, at the end of each billing cycle of one or two months.

Makes use of attack by Democrats

The Bush administration announced the latest expansion of FBI powers after coming under attack from the right by liberal Democrats who sought to scandalize the president for supposedly having advanced information that could have thwarted the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

CBS news reported May 15 that Bush was informed last August about followers of Osama bin Laden who were allegedly planning to hijack planes. The media also disclosed a memorandum written by an FBI agent in Phoenix, Arizona, last July urging the bureau to investigate Middle Eastern men attending flight schools in the United States.

The day after the CBS newscast, New York senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, referring to the headline "Bush Knew," which appeared in the *New York Post*, stated, "The president knew what? My constituents would like to know the answers to that and many other questions."

House Democratic leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri said, "What people knew, and when they knew it and what they did about it" would be part of a wide-ranging Congressional investigation into the "failure" of the CIA and FBI in relation to the September 11 attacks.

Sen. Joseph Lieberman said the inquiry should be a nonpartisan commission, "just like the ones they had after Pearl Harbor." The Congressional hearings began June 4.

At the same time, a letter from a senior FBI agent in Minneapolis to FBI director Robert Mueller complained that agents in her office were "held back" from investigating Zacarias Moussaoui, a French citizen of Moroccan descent, who is accused of training to join the 19 men who hijacked the planes on September 11.

'Some racial profiling works'

The Bush administration's beefing up of FBI powers won open backing of Democrats and liberals of many stripes. *New York Times* columnist Nicholas Kristof wrote May 31 that the reason the Minneapolis FBI agents were "restrained" is that "liberals like myself" have "regularly excoriated law enforcement authorities for taking shortcuts and engaging in racial profiling." He said liberals need to "acknowledge the tradeoff between public security and individual freedom." The steps by the FBI to expand its powers in order to spy on mosques, libraries, and the Internet "make sense."

We liberals, Kristof added, "must also relax a taboo, racial profiling, for one of the

Continued on Page 14

'Washington's 50-year domestic contra operation'

Bush administration officials seeking to expand the official ability of the government's secret police to conduct domestic spying operations have ended restrictions on the FBI imposed in the wake of the giant social battles of the 1960s and 1970s. Those struggles helped to expose the way the FBI and other police agencies targeted the struggles and organizations of Blacks, women, and working people in the United States, and to shatter the U.S. rulers' justification for their violations of Constitutional liberties.

Many newspaper articles reporting on the recent announcement by the Justice Department that it will now allow FBI agents to spy on public gatherings, church events, and web sites tend to portray the government's counterintelligence programs (Cointelpro) of earlier decades as benign information-gathering exercises.

In "Washington's fifty-year domestic contra operation" Larry Seigle addresses the real history and purpose of these disruption programs. An excerpt from the article, which is published in *New Internationalist* no. 6, is printed below.

Seigle explains the origins of an initiative in 1972 by the Socialist Workers Party, working with constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, to mount a political fight and file a lawsuit against the government that sought to establish the entitlement of the party and Young Socialist Alliance "to engage in political activity without being spied on and infiltrated by agents provocateurs, having their phones tapped and offices broken into, and being blacklisted and victimized in numerous other ways by the political police."

After a 13-year battle, a historic victory for political liberties was won when Federal District Judge Thomas Griesa ruled in 1986 that FBI use of undercover informers against the SWP violated the constitutional rights of the party, its members, and its supporters to privacy, an essential part of freedom of association. He also ruled that the FBI's covert break-ins of SWP offices and its disruption operations were unconstitutional.

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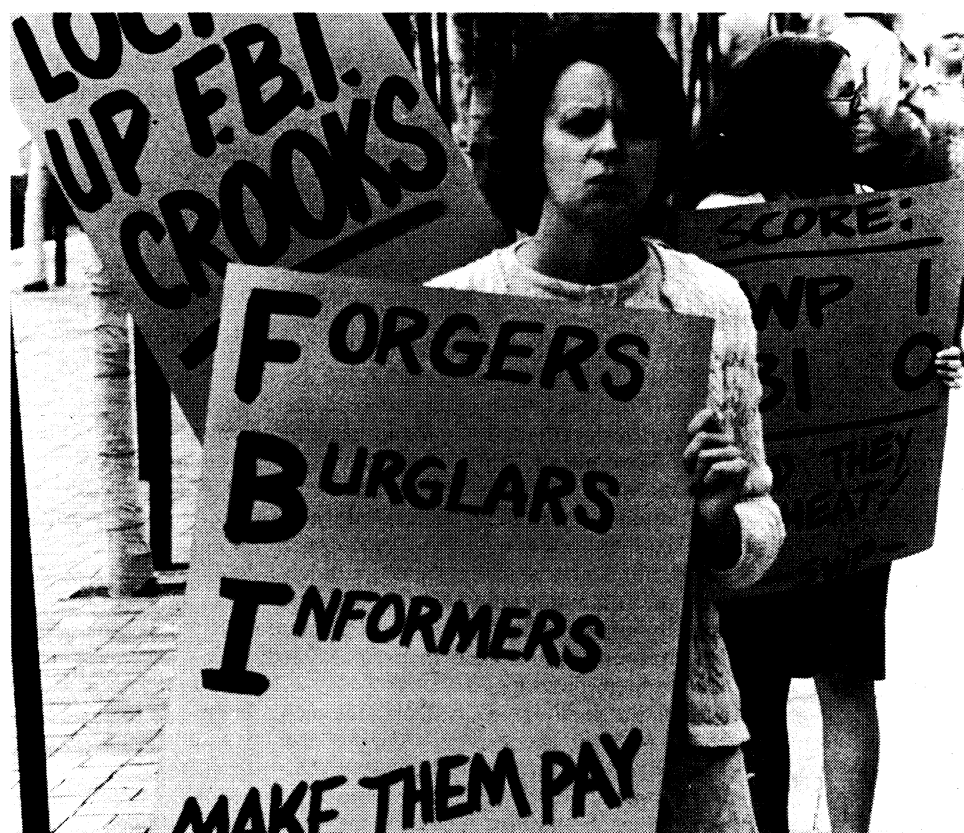
BY LARRY SEIGLE

The SWP lawsuit was filed in July 1973 as the Watergate scandal was breaking. Watergate was the first governmental crisis resulting from the growing contradiction in the latter part of the twentieth century between what the U.S. ruling class is compelled to do against its class enemies at home and abroad, and what it can openly proclaim as its goals and methods.

In the Second World War, the country's rulers were able to mobilize the country behind their war aims. Those who opposed this course were in a small minority; some were imprisoned for their minority views without a major national outcry. By the time of the Korean War, however, there was little enthusiasm among working people for the war, and a good deal of opposition was openly expressed. A measure of this shift was the decision by the government not to seek a declaration of war by Congress as required under the Constitution. The Korean War was also the first war the United States failed to win.

Distrust of secrecy of Washington

When the U.S. government escalated its intervention in Vietnam in the mid-1960s, conditions existed, for the first time in the history of the country, for the emergence of a massive antiwar movement in the middle



Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party suit, which sought to affirm right to engage in political activity without facing spying and disruption, join picket in Cleveland, 1976.

of a shooting war. Antiwar sentiment was accompanied by deepening popular suspicion and distrust of the secrecy and lies of Washington about its war aims and its methods. As in the Korean War, there was no declaration of war proposed to Congress. The government acted throughout on the basis of "executive power."

As the Watergate revelations developed, it became clear to a growing number of people that the lies and covert operations that were used by the government to further its aims in Vietnam were the very methods it used at home. The "inherent powers" that the president used to wage a murderous war against the peoples of Indochina were also being used against fighters for Black rights, against Puerto Rican and Mexican-American activists, against the women's liberation movement, against antiwar organizations, and against communists. As more of the truth about Cointelpro and other covert FBI operations began to emerge, it further became clear that these methods had been used at home first. Washington's wars against its class enemies overseas are an extension of the capitalist government's war against its domestic class enemies.

Today the U.S. government is in the midst of a second crisis, triggered by the exposure of the secret Iran arms deal and the covert funding of the contras trying to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. Like Watergate, the current crisis has its roots in the inability of U.S. imperialism to stop the march of history. The U.S. rulers must increasingly turn to covert operations to carry out policies and employ methods that they cannot openly proclaim or defend, and at least some of these covert operations are inevitably exposed publicly.

The SWP suit against the government has attracted new attention and broader support as the current government crisis has developed, since the issues at the heart of the case are the very questions posed by the contragate scandal: Can the rule of law be suspended in the name of "national security"? Are the president, the attorney general, the CIA, the FBI, and the National Security Council above the law?

The depth of what is at stake was revealed in a dramatic confrontation that occurred

during the pretrial battles in the SWP case. From the outset, the most important issue in the case was whether or not the FBI has a legal right to use covert informers to spy on and disrupt the SWP and YSA. To help prove that this government practice violated constitutional rights, the SWP's lawyers asked that Judge Griesa order the FBI to turn over the files on its informers. The judge ordered that a sample consisting of files on eighteen informers be produced. The Justice Department immediately appealed that order, first to the Court of Appeals and then to the United States Supreme Court. Turning over any informer files, government lawyers argued, would breach the absolute rule that the identity of undercover informers can never be disclosed without their agreement. To allow this principle to be violated would have "a devastating impact on the overall investigative effectiveness of the FBI," Justice Department lawyers contended. The higher courts nonetheless declined to reverse Griesa's order.

The government then took an unprecedented step: Attorney General Griffin Bell (a member of President James Carter's cabinet) informed Judge Griesa that he was refusing to obey the order. It was one of the moments in the case when the routine legal maneuvering between lawyers was suspended. The attorney general was acting not as a political appointee but as the direct spokesperson for the police power of the government, of the state power itself. Griesa responded by finding the attorney general in contempt of court, the first such ruling in U.S. history. "The Attorney General has no 'right' to defy a court order," declared Griesa. "The Court possesses and must possess under our system of law, the authority to enforce an order for the production of evidence."

The Justice Department immediately appealed the contempt ruling. The Court of Appeals, which had earlier refused to overturn Griesa's order, now ruled that a contempt finding was too drastic a sanction for Bell's defiance of a court order and reversed the ruling. The contents of the files were eventually summarized by a special appointee of the court and this summary was made part of the trial record.

From Pathfinder

Washington's 50-year Domestic Contra Operation

by Larry Seigle in New Internationalist No. 6

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Families of Australians imprisoned at U.S. base in Guantánamo speak out

BY LINDA HARRIS

SYDNEY, Australia—On May 4 Mamdouh Habib, an Australian citizen, was moved from U.S. custody in Afghanistan to Camp X-Ray at the U.S. military base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. In Sydney, his wife, Maha Habib, demanded to know why her husband was being held incommunicado without any charges being laid.

Habib has now seen prison walls and bars in four countries since being arrested in Pakistan on Oct. 5, 2001. Australian officials claimed that he had visited Afghanistan. His wife said he went to Pakistan to look for an Islamic school for their children.

Habib was initially held for about three weeks in Pakistan, where he was visited by Australian officials and officers of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO). According to Maha, they said, "You go wherever we take you," when he asked to be returned to Australia. Rather than being repatriated to Australia, the Egyptian-born Habib was handed over to authorities in Egypt, where he spent the next five months in custody without any contact with his family or legal representatives.

"My husband has not been charged," Maha said in a May 16 *Militant* interview. "Therefore I say that he was kidnapped by the Egyptian authorities and by the U.S. military. I can't understand why. They accuse him of training with al Qaeda."

Maha explains that she is anxious about her husband's health and well-being, since she has not heard from him following his arrest at the beginning of October.

Australian Federal Police and ASIO officers interrogated Mamdouh Habib along with the other Australian detainee, David Hicks, from May 16 to May 19 at the U.S. military prison, stationed on illegally-held territory of the Cuban government. The U.S. government refused permission for a lawyer to be present during the interrogations.

Washington holds 300 prisoners in brutal conditions, shackled and often blindfolded, in small cages at the prison camp. It has subjected the men to repeated interrogations while denying them legal representation, family visits, or rights accorded prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention.

The Habib family's lawyer, Stephen Hopper, said he believed that information obtained by police interviewing his client without legal representation would not be admissible in an Australian court.

Denied legal assistance

Unlike other Australian citizens accused of crimes or detained overseas, who routinely receive consular assistance from the Australian government, Habib and Hicks have been denied such help. Hicks was cap-



Afghan prisoners guarded by U.S. military police at Camp X-Ray at Guantánamo Bay naval base in Cuba. Washington holds 300 prisoners in brutal conditions, shackled and often blindfolded, in small cages at the prison camp.

tured by U.S.-backed Northern Alliance troops in Afghanistan in November 2001 and transferred to Guantánamo in January. His lawyer, Stephen Kenny, said that the Australian government had "washed its hands" of him.

The families and lawyers of both men believe that the government has acquiesced their detention without charges because it has determined that the men have committed no offenses under Australian law and would have to be released if they were returned here.

No evidence against Habib has been produced. In his first contact with his family since his detention, the International Committee of the Red Cross forwarded two letters, dated April 23, to his wife on May 23. In them, he denies any wrongdoing, accuses the Australian government of deserting him, and asks his wife to find "a lawyer because I've not [been] involve[d] with anything."

Before handing him over to the U.S. authorities, Egyptian officials tried to force Habib to renounce his Australian citizenship and call his family to join him in Egypt.

Habib's family denies statements by Australian officials that he holds dual Australian and Egyptian citizenship, explaining that he had traveled on an Australian passport when visiting Egypt in the past.

An article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* quoted a diplomatic source claiming that the frequency and destinations of Habib's trips abroad over the past decade had aroused "suspicions." The Habib family's passports were

among personal items seized by officers of ASIO during a seven-hour raid on the family home on September 20 last year, which occurred while Mamdouh was overseas.

"I was brought up in Australia. My husband has been here 20 years, our children were born here," Maha Habib told the *Militant*. "This could happen to anyone going overseas. Why shouldn't we travel? We have worked hard. The Australian government is not giving us our rights."

Maha Habib has spoken out publicly against the ASIO raid. Her formal complaint "has been ignored so far," she said. "ASIO is abusing their power." Asked what she thought of the proposed strengthening of ASIO's powers, she said, "They are destroying the country—saying we are under terrorism. People come here to live peacefully."

Earlier interrogation

Previously, ASIO had interviewed Habib about his activities in raising medical assistance for imprisoned Muslim cleric Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, who was framed up on conspiracy charges in New York in 1995 and handed a life sentence. Maha Habib said the authorities asked her husband, "Do you know these people?" He had just been to the mosque and met people there involved [with the defense campaign]. After the Olympics he was chased by ASIO," she said.

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade released a note from Mamdouh Habib to his wife on May 24. The letter was dictated by Habib to Australian officials who

visited him in Guantánamo. In it he says that he had been kept blindfolded. He writes, "I never see the sun but I see you and [the] kids every minute."

In another letter released by the department, Hicks says he has been kept "all day stuck in a small cage," and been told, "If you tell us everything you know, you will get back to Australia quicker." His lawyer said the offer could be seen as a bribe. "To have some inducement held out to him when he has been in a cage for six months is most improper. No Australian court would allow that to happen."

Attorney General Daryl Williams commented that neither Hicks nor Habib had been detained in a civilian or non-war context. "Habib was detained because of his alleged connection with what was going on in Afghanistan," he claimed. Habib's lawyer Hopper reacted with outrage, saying, "Habib was not in Afghanistan when hostilities commenced. He is being illegally held as a prisoner in an undeclared war."

The federal government moved on May 14 to ensure that Habib's disability pension was cut off, claiming that he had failed to notify the government agency Centrelink that he was going overseas. Maha told the *Militant* that the family had written a letter to notify Centrelink that her husband would be overseas for three months.

"Initially they said they would continue the payment" of the pension, she said. "Then just two days ago the manager from Centrelink called to say that it had been canceled. Now they say I will get the sole parent benefit, which is \$260 less a fortnight [AU\$1 = US 57 cents]. I think that it was pressure from the government—pressure on me not to speak, not to speak out for my rights, or my husband's rights," Maha said.

"Mamdouh has always been active, always outspoken, he helps other people without hesitation. We have been together for 20 years and he has taught me 'never be afraid of the truth. Don't be quiet about your rights.'"

"I don't want people to be sorry for me," she said. "I want them to wake up and see what the government is doing to its citizens, especially if they are from the Mideast. We should be entitled to be treated like citizens."

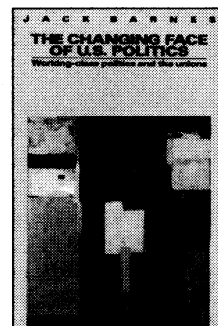
"I just want my husband back," Maha said. "The children miss him. I have to explain to them that the government is trying to frame him."

She explained that she did not believe they would bring her husband back unless she spoke out. "I have nothing to hide," she said. "People can take our case and see it as an example for others too afraid to speak out. They're not going to break me down."

Linda Harris is a member of the Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union. Doug Cooper contributed to this article.

FROM PATHFINDER

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics



WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AND THE TRADE UNIONS

Jack Barnes

A handbook for the new generation

coming into the factories, mines, and mills as they react to the uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality of capitalism today. It shows how millions of working people, as political resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions and other organizations, and all of society. Also available in Spanish and French. \$19.95

Available from Pathfinder, at pathfinderpress.com or bookstores, including those listed on page 12.

Teachers in New Zealand fight for a contract

Continued from Page 16

Wellington, 200 teachers marched to parliament to protest as finance minister Michael Cullen presented the coalition government's budget. In Auckland, 100 teachers supported by a dozen students from Northcote College (high school) held a picket at the office of local Labour Party MP Ann Hartley.

At a picket of 30 teachers outside Rangitoto College May 28 Kaine Hansen, the secretary of the PPTA branch, told the *Militant* that the government's latest pay offer doesn't keep up with inflation. "It's effectively a pay cut," he said. In a statement distributed at the action the PPTA branch explained that "our members have decided to walk off the job four afternoons this week in order to send a strong message to the government."

Students from the school streamed past the picket on their way home. One group waved and called out, "Yea, go the teachers!" Hansen said that most students and parents supported the teachers' action.

However, news coverage of some of the "wildcat" teachers' strikes has featured comments from students opposing the actions. Television cameras followed a student at the Rangitoto picket line who asked to interview

Hansen as part of an assignment for her journalism class. The student asked the teacher why they were striking when the PPTA had reached an agreement with the government. Had teachers considered the effect of their repeated actions on students' education? she asked.

Hansen replied that while it is true that teachers feel let down by their union's national officials, they believe that students would also benefit if teachers succeed in getting a better deal.

"The disruption of secondary schools in this teachers' pay negotiation round has gone on far too long," whined an editorial in the May 30 edition of the *New Zealand Herald*, Auckland's big-business daily.

Ross Wilson, the president of the Council of Trade Unions, the national union federation, told the *Herald* that the "wildcat" strikes run counter to the democratic process of offer and counteroffer. "I am very concerned," he said, "because I've never seen this happen before, and I've operated in some very tough environments on the waterfront and railways over a period of 25 years."

Reflecting this concern, the government has waived a requirement to give 14 days' notice of paid stopwork meetings so that the

PPTA can arrange more rapid meetings for its 14,000-strong national membership to vote on the proposed settlement.

Public education, like health and other sectors, has suffered from a decade and a half of assaults on the social wage by successive governments. Many state-run schools, which are supposed to provide free education, now require parents to pay up to \$500 in yearly fees, euphemistically called "contributions" or "donations" (NZ\$1 = US 49 cents).

Many schools actively recruit overseas students, particularly from Asia, who pay annual fees of \$10,000 or more. A recent *Herald* report entitled, "Overseas students keeping state schools afloat," cited Auckland's Rutherford College, where fees from overseas students contribute around \$350,000 to the school coffers, compared with the government's annual operations payment to the school of \$1.1 million.

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War danger on the Indian subcontinent

Continued from front page

the capitalist media describes as radical, militant Islamic groups. Islamabad has used the groups to pursue its aim of gaining greater influence over Afghanistan, as well as carrying out armed attacks and military provocations against India under the guise of backing aspirations for self-determination in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The government of India says it will not begin to draw down its troops along the border until Musharraf ends all incursions into India by forces that operate out of Pakistan. The militaries of both countries remain on high alert, with a million troops massed along the border. Both governments possess a limited number of nuclear weapons.

The biggest operation by Islamabad involved arming and training groups to fight successive Soviet-backed governments in Afghanistan. Washington also backed some of these groups, supplying them with military equipment as they organized armed attacks on Soviet forces during the 1980s.

Since the inception in 1947 of the state of Pakistan, founded as a state based upon the Muslim religion, the rulers of the country—who for nearly half its 55-year existence have been military dictators—have attempted to portray themselves as defenders of Muslims throughout the South Asia region.

Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, the dictator who ruled the country throughout most of the 1980s, for example, conferred vast patronage on the Islamic clergy, religious schools, and mosques and encouraged the adoption of Islamic law throughout the country.

The schools, which sprung up in cities throughout Pakistan, openly recruited individuals off the streets to the various jihad groups being organized. Many of those who came to lead the Taliban, which means "student," received their training at the schools in Pakistan. Some 80,000 of these fighters were originally armed under the direction of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the Pakistani secret police, to fight the Soviet forces in Afghanistan. After the Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989, thousands of Islamic guerrilla fighters, funded and supported by Pakistan, shifted their focus to launching assaults against Indian-controlled areas of Kashmir. Since 1947 Pakistan has occupied one-third of Kashmir. India controls two-thirds and a small section in the northeast has been under Chinese control since 1962.

Intertwining with secret police

The Pakistani rulers maintained a close relationship with the Taliban rulers in Af-

ghanistan until pressure from U.S. imperialism forced them to cut these ties in the aftermath of September 11 and the U.S. assault upon that country. Towards that end, Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf in October announced a shakeup in the leadership of the ISI, firing Gen. Mehmood Ahmed who was in charge of the spy agency.

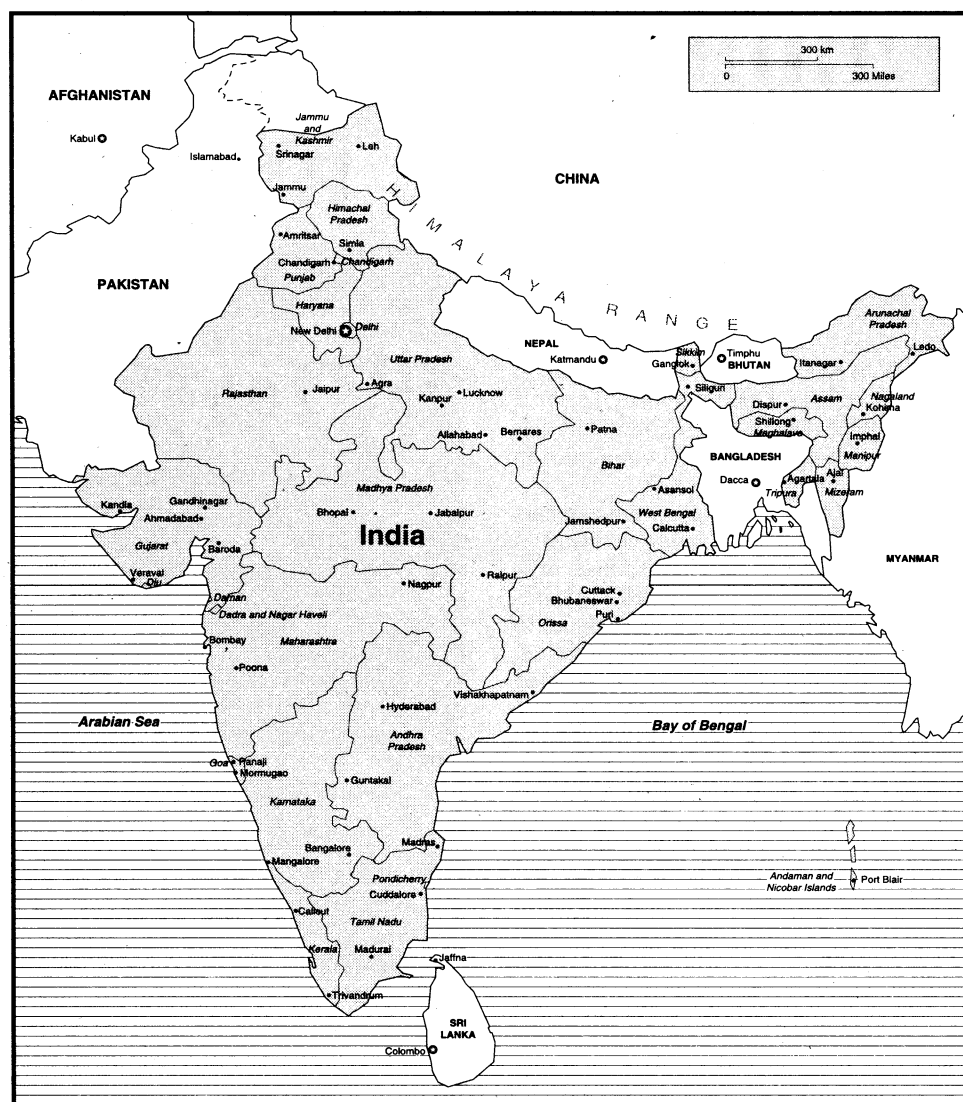
However, this cosmetic move changed very little in the Pakistani government's relationship to the jihadi groups. The "structure built up in the 1980s is very much intact and the jihadi groups are functioning the same way they always have, recruiting, training, and fund-raising," stated Arif Jamal, a Pakistani author who has studied these groups. "This government does not have the political will to crack down. The only thing new is that since December, these groups are not visible. They have changed their names, their telephone numbers and addresses, and they have moved out of Islamabad."

With the defeat of Taliban and al Qaeda forces in Afghanistan, many of the leaders of these groups have returned to Pakistan, some of whom are now being deployed by the Pakistani military and intelligence services to launch attacks against Indian-controlled parts of Kashmir. Some of these groups, like Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Sipah-e-Sahaba, have long-standing ties with Pakistan's military rulers.

Prior to seizing political power in a coup two years ago, General Musharraf, as head of the Pakistani Army, directed an incursion into the Kargil region on the Indian side of Kashmir that brought the two countries close to war. In October of that year Musharraf ousted the then-head of state Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in a military coup and in June 2000 appointed himself president.

There has been a succession of armed attacks on Indians since last year. In October, Pakistani-backed militants attacked the state legislature in the Kashmiri capital of Srinagar, killing 38 people. In December, they assaulted the national parliament in New Delhi, killing 14 people, including the attackers. The Indian government accused the Pakistani-backed Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad groups of carrying out the raid and demanded that the Pakistani government crack down on the cross-border incursions. Musharraf, under pressure from Washington to comply with this demand, announced in January the arrest of 2,000 individuals involved in these jihad groups. But they were freed a few weeks later.

On May 14 three Pakistani-backed guerrillas disguised in army fatigues opened fire on an Indian army camp in Kashmir, kill-



Map by Mike Shur

ing 30 people, mostly soldiers' wives and children, and wounded another 48.

The military mobilization has continued. In May the Pakistani government conducted three tests of ballistic missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads to most major Indian cities. Pakistan's rulers have refused to rule out a first-strike use of nuclear weapons. "We have not said we will not use nuclear weapons," stated Munir Akram, Pakistan's ambassador to the European Union and the United Nations. "India has a larger army. We do not wish to expand our limited resources on building up a conventional defense.... We will not neutralize the deterrence of any doctrine of no first use." The Indian rulers, on the other hand, have reiterated their policy of not using nuclear weapons except in response to a nuclear attack.

Musharraf also began shifting tens of thousands of Pakistani troops from the Afghanistan border, where they were participating in patrols along with U.S. troops in the search for al Qaeda forces, to the border with India. "In all, Pakistan plans to withdraw about half of its 80,000 troops from their support role alongside U.S. forces," reported the *Wall Street Journal* on May 31.

In a speech broadcast on Pakistani television May 29, Musharraf asserted, "If Indian forces cross a single inch on the Line of Control, the Pakistan army will respond with full force, and we will take the fight to the Indian territory." He added, "We don't just have a defensive strategy. We also have offensive plans."

Divide and rule strategy

The conflict on the Indian subcontinent is rooted in the character of the Pakistani state, carved out of India in 1947 by the British imperialists as a Muslim state, in order to pursue a divide-and-rule strategy aimed at derailing the powerful revolution in India unfolding in the 1940s against colonial rule. The driving force of these massive protests were mobilizations and strike actions by the working class in virtually all the major cities—Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, etc., that were assuming a highly political character.

The imperialists have utilized the state of Pakistan as a spearhead against the fight for national unification on the Indian subcontinent. In contrast to Pakistan, India is a secu-

lar state. While the majority of its people practice the Hindu religion, it incorporates 140 million Muslims, more than any other country except Indonesia, along with people of other faiths.

From its inception, Washington has supplied arms to the Pakistani government and has included it in a number of key U.S. military pacts in the region, including the 1954 SEATO alliance in Southeast Asia and CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) in 1955, which also included the regime of the Shah of Iran. During Washington's recent assault on Afghanistan, U.S. military forces took over the use of three of Pakistan's key air bases with the agreement of the Musharraf dictatorship. Some 1,000 U.S. army and air force troops are currently still stationed there.

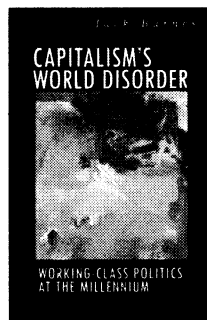
Washington has been pressing Pakistan's rulers to clamp down on the border cross-



Pakistani missile lifting off from an undisclosed location May 28. It was the third launching in a series of tests.

ings into Indian territory, attempting to cast itself as peacemaker while maintaining close ties with the Musharraf regime. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld is scheduled to visit India and Pakistan in early June, shortly after U.S. deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage pays a visit to the region, and Japan's deputy foreign minister has scheduled stops in both capitals.

FROM PATHFINDER



Capitalism's World Disorder

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Jack Barnes

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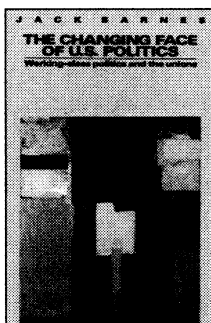
The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AND THE TRADE UNIONS

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A handbook for the new generation coming into the factories, mines, and mills as they react to the uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality of capitalism today. It shows how millions of working people, as political resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions and other organizations, and all of society. Also available in Spanish and French. \$19.95

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'History of American Trotskyism' 60th anniversary edition issued in three languages

Book records efforts to emulate Bolsheviks, build new kind of proletarian party

Printed below is the preface written by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes to the new edition of the Pathfinder book *History of American Trotskyism, 1928-38: Report of a Participant*. The book is being produced simultaneously in English, French, and Spanish, and will be available for sale in July. Copyright © 2002 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission

BY JACK BARNES

In these twelve public talks given in 1942 in New York City, James P. Cannon recounts the formative—and I would add, heroic—chapter of the effort to build a communist party in the United States.

Cannon begins with three talks describing the world-shaking changes made possible in the perspectives of revolutionary-minded socialists in the United States by the victory and the example of the October 1917 revolution in Russia. He recounts the steps they took in the years after 1917 to found and season a proletarian party that aspired to emulate the Bolsheviks.

The remainder of the book concentrates on the ten years following 1928. That was the year the Workers (Communist) Party of America expelled veteran leaders and cadres who opposed the growing Stalinization of the party leadership. Organized in the Communist League of America, Cannon and the others joined Bolshevik revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky in the international fight to continue implementing V.I. Lenin's political course and the program for world revolution developed by the Communist International under Lenin's guidance—the program that to this day continues to underlie the work of communists in every country.

Cannon describes how Communist League members integrated themselves into the union battles and social struggles that from the early 1930s on signaled the first stirrings of resistance by working people to the economic and social catastrophe of the Great Depression and approaching imperi-



Above: workers and peasants mobilize in Petrograd, Russia, 1917. Banner reads, "Armored car units for freedom." *History of American Trotskyism* begins with discussion of impact of Russian Revolution on vanguard workers in the United States. Left: James P. Cannon in Moscow as delegate for U.S. Communist Party at 1922 Congress of the Comintern.

alist war. He records the party's success in fusing its cadres with other vanguard workers as part of a class-struggle trade union leadership in the Upper Midwest, leading to victory some of the sharpest class battles of the 1934-38 mass labor upsurge. Cannon draws the lessons from these efforts and carries the story up to New Year's 1938, when the communist organization in the United States takes the name Socialist Workers Party.

Two decades after he gave these talks, in *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, Cannon returned, once again from the standpoint of a leading participant, to a more detailed account of the earlier period in the history of the Marxist movement in the United States. In that 1962 book he traces the course of communists in the United States during the years from the Bolshevik-led revolution of 1917 until 1928. In the process, Cannon reaffirms the summary conclusions on the roots of the communist movement in the United States and the character of its pioneers first presented in these 1942 lectures.

Jim Cannon was born in Rosedale, Kansas, in 1890 and joined the Socialist Party at the age of eighteen. A traveling organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World before and during World War I and a leader of the working-class left wing of the Socialist Party, he was a founding leader of the communist movement in the United States.

During the seven months he spent in Soviet Russia from June 1922 to January 1923, Cannon was a delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International and a member of the presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in Moscow. He later served as executive secretary of the International Labor Defense in the United States, a nationwide organization that raised the proletarian banner of "an injury to one is an injury to all" and fought for the release of any class-war prisoner framed-up for militancy in the workers movement, regardless of their political affiliation. Cannon was a founding leader in 1929 of the Communist League of America, which evolved into the Socialist Workers Party in 1938. He served as SWP national secretary until 1953, when he became the party's national chairman, and then, in 1972, national chairman emeritus until his death in 1974.

On December 8, 1941, just a few months before he presented these talks, Cannon and seventeen other leaders and cadres of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO (formerly Teamsters Local 544) had been sentenced to prison on frame-up charges in a federal court in Minneapolis, Minnesota, because of their active opposition within the U.S. labor movement to Washington's joining in the imperialist

slaughter of World War II. The conspiracy charges on which they were convicted had been brought under the newly enacted 1940 thought-control measure known as the Smith Act, a law invoked for the first time with the indictment of leaders of Local 544 and the Socialist Workers Party. Effectively overturned by the Supreme Court in 1957, that statute outlawed not only actions but advocacy of certain ideas, in violation of the U.S. Constitution's hard-won Bill of Rights, which prohibits laws abridging freedom of speech, press, or assembly.

The U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the verdict and sentences in late 1943. Cannon was imprisoned for sixteen months in the federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minnesota, and was released in early 1945. The appeals court also affirmed the convictions of the other seventeen defendants, all of whom were imprisoned for similar terms.

Readers of *The History of American Trotskyism* will be interested in *The Left Opposition in the U.S., 1928-31* and *The Communist League of America, 1932-34*, which include writings and speeches by

Cannon from a substantial portion of the period covered in this book. Other writings by Cannon include *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, *Notebook of an Agitator*, *Socialism on Trial*, *Letters from Prison*, *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II*, *Speeches to the Party*, and *Speeches for Socialism*. All these titles, as well as *The First Ten Years of American Communism* and Joseph Hansen's *James P. Cannon, the Internationalist*, are available from Pathfinder.

With the fiftieth anniversary edition of *The History of American Trotskyism*, published in 1995, we restored Cannon's original subtitle "Report of a participant" as well as the original 1944 introduction by Socialist Workers Party leader Joseph Hansen. The text and index were scanned and reformatted to make the book more readable and attractive.

This fourth edition incorporates for the first time twenty-four pages of photographs that bring to life the sweeping events of world history and the roots of the powerful working-class-led social movements described by Cannon. The new edition records another landmark as well. It is published simultaneously by Pathfinder in French- and Spanish-language translations. Sixty years after the talks that make up *The History of American Trotskyism* were given, this contribution to an understanding of communist continuity will now be available, in the United States and around the world, to millions of revolutionary-minded working people whose first language is not English.

Cannon's account is an essential companion not only to his own writings of the same period, but also to *Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today* by Jack Barnes, first published in 1983 in the magazine of Marxist politics and theory, *New Internationalist*. An updated edition of that contribution, with a new introduction, has also been released this year by Pathfinder Press in English, Spanish, and French.

All of these works take as their starting point the Bolshevik perspectives that guided Cannon and his comrades during the decade of 1928 to 1938 he writes about in these pages: "Trotskyism is not a new movement, a new doctrine, but the restoration, the revival, of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the Russian revolution and in the early days of the Communist International."

Celebrate Pathfinder's publication in French of *History of American Trotskyism* by James P. Cannon

Build the Communist League and Young Socialists, build the world communist movement

Montreal, Saturday, June 15, 4:00 p.m.

Speakers:

Michel Prairie, leader of the Communist League in Canada and editor of *L'histoire du trotskysme américain*.

Jack Barnes, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.

Natalie Séguin, YS leader in Canada, participant in conference on "Socialism, the alternative for the world and Haiti" in Haiti.

Derek Jeffers, CGT member at Peugeot in Paris and volunteer in Pathfinder's French-language publication program.

Alexandre Lampron, leader of the Young Socialists in Quebec.

Susan Berman, Toronto, volunteer in the Pathfinder Reprint Project.

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(between Fairmount and St. Viateur—Bus 80 north from metro Place des arts, or south from metro Parc.)

The program will be followed by a fund-raising dinner for Pathfinder's French-language publication program.

Organized by the Communist League and the Young Socialists in Montreal and Toronto.

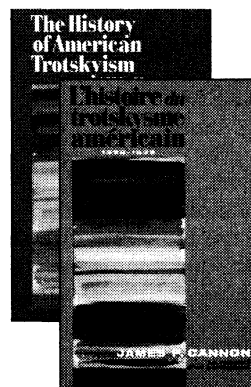
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Available in July in English, French, and Spanish

History of American Trotskyism Report of a Participant by James P. Cannon

"Trotskyism is not a new movement, a new doctrine, but the restoration, the revival of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the Russian Revolution and in the early days of the Communist International."

James P. Cannon, 1942



This is the story—told by a leading participant—of the formative years of the communist movement in the United States.

In twelve talks given in 1942, James P. Cannon begins with the first steps forward by vanguard U.S. workers politically responding to the victory of the October 1917 revolution in Russia. He follows for more than two decades the efforts by communists in the United States to emulate the Bolsheviks and build a new kind of proletarian party. In this fast-moving account, Cannon carries the story up to 1938 when the communist organization in the United States takes the name Socialist Workers Party.

Having joined the Socialist Party in 1908 when he was 18, Jim Cannon became a traveling organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World a few years later. A supporter of the SP's working-class left wing, he was a founding leader of the communist movement in the United States and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1922. He served as SWP national secretary until 1953 and national chairman until 1972. (From the back cover of the 2002 edition.) \$22

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12; or visit www.pathfinderpress.com; or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Coal miners in Scotland fight layoffs

BY ANNE MACDONALD

FIFE, Scotland—Fifty miners who used to work at the Longannet coal mine here angrily confronted the UK government's Energy Minister Brian Wilson at a meeting May 17. Another 350 retired miners and their spouses also demanded the government end delays in compensation payments for work-related injuries and health problems.

The miners from Longannet called for a public inquiry into the flooding and subsequent closure of the mine, and questioned where millions of pounds given by the government to the company have gone. The response of Wilson and Martin O'Neill, the local member of parliament, was to repeatedly try to shout down miners who were asking the questions.

On March 23, 17 million gallons of water flooded into Longannet mine, which is a drift mine that goes out under the Firth of Forth. It is also the last deep mine in Scotland. The flood blocked ventilation and shut down power to the mine on a Saturday night when no one was working. Had it happened 24 hours earlier, the consequences for work crews underground would have been devastating.

No water has been pumped from the mine and no investigation carried out as to why the flood happened. Instead, the response of Scottish Coal, the mine's operator, was to close the operation, put the Deep Mining part of the company into liquidation, and throw 500-plus miners out of work.

The Scottish Coal (Deep Mine) Company Limited is a part of the Mining (Scotland) group, which also operates open-cast mines and other coal-related companies. The bosses have even halted concessionary coal, where miners receive coal for heating their homes, according to one former worker. Many retired miners rely on this coal to stay warm in the cold months.

The call for a public inquiry, which has twice been ruled out by Wilson, has come from former Longannet workers; the National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shotfired (NACODS); local politicians; and George Bolton, former president of the Scottish National Union of Mineworkers. They point out that the most likely cause of the flood was the failure of a dam wall that sealed off Longannet from the abandoned workings of another mine. NACODS spokespeople say that their members had reported that the dam had been leaking in the weeks leading up to the March flood. They claim that the dam wall was only five meters deep but had originally been planned to be 15 meters.

Dams of similar construction are used in other mines in Britain and throughout Europe, so the failure to investigate what happened is potentially putting other miners at risk. "You would have thought they would want to know if the wall was inferior," former miner Brian Millar told the *Militant*. The mine owners' reply was that, since the workings are under water, it's not possible to know what gave way.

Where did the money go?

Miners also want Scottish Mining to explain where £41 million of government money given to the company has gone (£1=US \$1.40). "Longannet had been flooding for six months and although the mine owners could have installed machinery to fix the problem they had not," one miner said at the meeting, according to a local press summary. Another worker pointed out that "incompetence by the government and the mine's owners endangered workers' lives."

Brian Millar had worked for Scottish Coal at Longannet since May last year. He was one of many miners sacked (fired) during the 1984-85 miners strike, having been imprisoned twice that year. Millar fought to get his job back and was finally taken on by a contractor with the mine in 2000, and by Scottish Coal a year later.

Millar told the *Militant* that the closure of the mine came on the heels of company attacks on working conditions, along with some resistance to the bosses' assault. In July last year the company announced that it wanted to change the hours of work to four 10-hour shifts per week and three 12-hour shifts over the weekend. Some workers would remain on five 8-hour shifts per week. The company claimed it needed this schedule to allow 24-hour coaling for four days a week, followed by three days of

maintenance. In reality the scheme allowed the company to mine coal 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

The company also started calculating bonus payments on a monthly, rather than weekly, basis. Bonus payments have historically made up a substantial part of a miner's wage. With the change, miners would receive a bonus only if they produced 160,000 tonnes in a month.

"What this meant was that we could get to 150,000 tonnes in three weeks and then the company would stop production for maintenance and we would get nothing," explained Millar. Despite company threats that there would be no change in their proposals, workers responded by refusing for five weeks to sign up for overtime. Although the new working hours were introduced, the company was forced to revert to weekly bonus payments.

170 workers sacked

Last November Scottish Coal made 170 workers redundant (unemployed). Showing its deep contempt for its employees, as well



as a desire to avoid any chance of a collective response, the company sent workers home one day and told them not to return to the mine until they had received a letter telling them whether or not they still had a job.

Workers received a score sheet through the post, on which they were marked by the

bosses on such subjects as "flexibility," "performance," "experience and capability," and "attendance." Workers who "scored" below 53 points were sacked. Those sacked, Millar among them, were instructed not to come anywhere near the mine.

The clash with Energy Minister Brian Wilson occurred when some of the miners who had been left without work after the flood were inadvertently invited to the meeting by Gordon Brown, Westminster's chancellor of the exchequer and the member of parliament for the Longannet area.

The meeting of 350 retired miners and widows had been called by the Suchie Retired Miners to demand the government speed up payment on compensation claims of miners who are suffering work-related illnesses. The group also pressed the government to reduce the "surplus" run by the miners pension fund from 50 percent to 25 percent. Of the 1,000 miners in this area who have submitted claims, only 176 have been paid out in full.

Some retirees suggested that government lawyers are stalling payments until they die. Wilson said that when the money is released it would be paid to the miner's widow, or to his estate if she is also dead.

"I have heard enough of the excuses and delays," one miner told the meeting. "It is very frustrating. All I am asking is to get the money paid out and paid out now in full." John Gillon, secretary of the Sauchie Retired Miners, reported that in the week following the meeting three more workers from his branch had received their final payments.

Buenos Aires changes laws; IMF holds loans

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

As economic and social conditions worsen for working people in Argentina, the country's capitalist rulers, led by President Eduardo Duhalde, have been focusing their energies on repealing several laws in an effort to comply with conditions demanded by the International Monetary Fund.

The IMF, an imperialist financial institution dominated by the rulers in the United States, has said that it will not grant any new loans to the South American country until its demands are met. In spite of the government's steps to cooperate, the U.S.-dominated outfit has been in no hurry to provide further funds to Argentina.

In a 35-34 vote, the Argentine Senate abolished a 1974 bill known as the economic subversion law. This law had recently been used by some judges to prosecute bankers for their role in the current economic crisis. Some bankers had been charged, for example, with promoting the flight of capital from the country that contributed to the collapse of the Argentine currency.

Congress has also voted to scrap a new bankruptcy code that imperialist officials

strongly objected to because it placed some legal limits on creditors' ability to put the squeeze on debtors for outstanding loans.

"The president has placed his entire presidency on the line to comply with IMF demands," stated a spokesman for Duhalde. "We need a swift and important response to our request for help."

IMF officials also insist that Argentina's federal government push through severe cutbacks in the provinces. The IMF wants each of the 23 provincial governors to sign an individual agreement detailing plans for cutting the budget deficit by 60 percent—a step that will mean more layoffs and deepening attacks on living conditions of workers and farmers. So far Argentina's largest province, Buenos Aires, has refused to sign such an agreement.

The economy minister has also announced what is described as a new plan to convert billions of dollars of bank deposits, currently frozen by government decree, into government bonds that would be given to depositors in place of cash.

Duhalde's hopes for a quick and positive response from the IMF were dashed when fund officials said they would need further

time to study how the law on economic subversion had been annulled. It appeared that key aspects of the law had been transferred to the penal code, they said. In Buenos Aires, federal officials asked the IMF to detail the provisions they objected to so the president can veto them.

Union members at GO Transit in Toronto walk out to demand wage parity

BY PATRICIA O'BEIRNE

TORONTO—The 134 workers who maintain the trains for GO Transit, which services the Greater Toronto area, went out on strike May 30. The workers, who are members of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1587, repair and maintain GO's 45 locomotives and 330 coaches. Some 165,000 people travel on the GO Transit trains each day. The bosses have continued to run the trains using management personnel, although with delays.

Julius Ezpeleta, who has worked for GO Transit since Bombardier Inc. took over the maintenance of the trains four years ago, explained that the main issue in the strike is wage parity with the rest of the industry.

"We're asking for \$19 an hour for the service worker classification," he said. "We think you need that to survive in the Toronto region." Ezpeleta said the current base rate for the maintenance workers is \$16.78 an hour, compared to over \$20 an hour workers are paid performing the same duties for the Toronto Transit Corporation, the city's public transit system. In voting to strike, the workers narrowly rejected a company offer that would have raised wages 3 percent for each of the next three years.

"When Bombardier first took over the maintenance at GO Transit, we accepted this situation," Ezpeleta said. "But five years later, it's the same thing. Now they want to pay low wages like five years ago. They don't want to give us a raise because they are ripping off the workers."

"The striking workers have been without a contract since December 31. They are employed by Bombardier and contracted out to GO Transit. Bombardier Inc. is the world's largest manufacturer of rail transportation equipment, and the third largest civil aircraft manufacturer.

Unemployment claims hit two-year high in U.S. as economy expands

BY RÓGER CALERO

The number of workers receiving unemployment benefits in the United States continues to climb. Some 3.89 million workers drew unemployment in the week ending May 18, the highest figure since 1983. At least 400,000 people have filed new claims each week for 10 consecutive weeks. And those figures only cover workers who apply and qualify for benefits.

Capitalist firms such as Merrill Lynch openly report that business will continue to shed workers even if the economy is growing at more than a 4 percent rate.

Anticipating more layoffs and further deterioration of working conditions, Merrill Lynch states that "corporate restructuring activities will continue in full force as companies resize themselves for profitability."

In the last quarter, labor productivity, measured by the amount of goods and services that are produced for each hour worked, grew by 8.6 percent. At the same

time the unemployment rate rose to 6 percent, the highest percentage level in nearly eight years.

According to a report from the Institute for Supply Management, economic activity in the manufacturing industry has registered consistent growth during the last four months, while the number of manufacturing jobs has continued a slide that has now lasted 20 months in a row.

Meanwhile, the unemployment rate in the countries of the European Union rose to 7.6 percent in April, representing a total of 13.3 million workers, up from 7.5 percent in March. At 11.3 percent Spain has the highest proportion of workers without jobs. Unemployment in France stands at 9.2 percent.

Joblessness in Brazil took a leap in April as construction and retail firms fired workers, increasing from 7.8 percent in March to 8.2 percent in April. Hong Kong also saw a steep rise to 7 percent in those out of work. Unemployment rate in Japan continues at 5.2 percent.

FBI, INS in new 'spy' frame-up of Cuban

Continued from front page

tional security section of the Miami INS," reported the May 31 *Miami Herald*. "Agents compiled physical evidence and surveillance, 'as well as evidence provided by some of the other defendants in the Wasp Network who implicated him,' West said." The "Wasp Network" is the term used by government prosecutors to describe Cubans arrested in 1998, and is part of their propaganda justifying the FBI frame-up.

Five of these men—Gerardo Hernández, René González, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, and Fernando González—pleaded not guilty to the charges and were given jail sentences ranging from 15 years to double life terms in December.

The May 31 *Herald* article stated that in Aboy's case, "Nobody with the INS or the FBI would discuss the purported evidence in detail." Despite this, the *Herald* continued to report as facts the statements by the INS and FBI.

"James Goldman, the INS assistant district director for investigations, said evidence will show that like the convicted spies, Aboy was trained by the Cuban intelligence services," the *Herald* said. "And like several of the convicted spies, Aboy's 'primary mission' was to infiltrate the U.S. Southern Command headquarters in West Miami-Dade County, the military nerve center for the Caribbean and Latin America, Goldman said. Aboy's intelligence handlers also directed him to try to join the Navy, but he found out he was too old, West said."

The U.S. Southern Command headquarters, for many years located in Panama during U.S. imperialism's occupation of the Canal Zone, has worked hand-in-glove with counterrevolutionary organizations across Latin America. For example, U.S. forces trained and equipped mercenaries to invade Cuba in the early 1960s from bases in Kentucky, Louisiana, Georgia, and Florida, as well as Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Panama, and Guatemala. This set the pattern for Washington's aggression against the Cuban Revolution ever since.

The *Herald* implicitly stated that the U.S. government does not have a shred of evidence to prosecute Aboy on charges of spying or conspiracy to commit espionage. "But whatever else the sum of evidence might show, it's not enough for prosecutors to win an espionage conviction, agents said," the May 31 article continued. "Aboy's case is being handled administratively in Immigration Court."

"Immigration law requires a lesser level of evidence," Goldman told the *Herald*. "You need 'X' amount to prosecute somebody but less than 'X' amount to deport somebody. A case may not be strong enough to criminally prosecute you, but it's sufficient to have you ordered deported for espionage."

Aboy, who moved from Cuba to Miami in 1996, is reportedly charged by the INS with failing to register with the U.S. government as an agent of a foreign power. He is being held at the Krome detention center in Miami.

Frame-up of the five

A year ago, the frame-up of the five Cuban revolutionaries resulted in their conviction in a federal court here on a series of conspiracy charges. These included conspiracy to act as an unregistered agent of a foreign power, to commit espionage, and in one case, to commit murder.

The real crime of these five men was that of carrying out a revolutionary mission to defend the sovereignty of their country, Cuba. They were defending their revolution, they explained, by gathering information on the activities of counterrevolutionary groups that operate on U.S. soil to launch violent attacks on Cuba. These groups have a long record of such activity, carried out with the full knowledge and complicity of the U.S. government.

On June 8, 2001, a jury in a federal courtroom in Miami handed down guilty verdicts against the five men on all 23 FBI-concocted charges of "spying" for the government of Cuba. Gerardo Hernández was also found guilty of the unprecedented charge of "conspiracy to commit murder" for allegedly providing Cuban authorities with the flight plans of the four Brothers to the Rescue pi-

lots whose planes were shot down in 1996 by the Cuban air force. A number of defense witnesses offered ample evidence that these rightists repeatedly violated Cuban airspace and refused to heed warnings to head back before they were downed in the sea near Havana.

In a statement featured in the June 20 issue of the Cuban daily *Granma*, the government of that country condemned the June 8 convictions. The five, it said, were part of an operation to "discover and report on terrorist plans hatched against our people" in Florida by counterrevolutionary opponents of the Cuban Revolution.

The imprisoned Cubans wrote at the time in a statement to the American people, "Our tiny nation, which has heroically survived four decades of aggressions and threats to its national security, of subversion plans, sabotage, and destabilization, has every right to defend itself from its enemies who keep using U.S. territory to plan, organize, and finance terrorist actions, breaking your own laws in the process."

The arrest, trial, and sentencing of the five Cuban revolutionaries was not only an attack on the Cuban Revolution, but a travesty of justice and an attack on the rights of all working people in the United States. The violations include the unconstitutional way the FBI carried out its so-called investigation of these men, the frame-up character of their trials, and the brutal prison conditions they have been subjected to—including their post-sentencing separation in five different jails that are thousands of miles apart.

The FBI agents repeatedly broke into their homes and raided their computer files for three years before arresting them, violating Fourth Amendment protections against arbitrary search and seizure. The judge refused a defense motion to move the trial out of Miami, despite the fact that several potential jurors—especially Cuban Americans—were disqualified after stating their fear of reprisals should they cast a not-guilty vote. When they arrested the five, U.S. officials charged them with spying and trying to obtain military secrets. But the prosecution was not able to prove that any of them had actually carried out a single illegal act. That included the accusation of conspiracy to infiltrate the U.S. Southern Command—a charge also leveled at Aboy. At the trial, no evidence was presented of the theft of any U.S. military secrets.

Instead, the five were convicted on conspiracy charges, used by the U.S. government when it can't find any hard facts, despite years-long investigations.

An international campaign to demand freedom for the five is under way. The campaign includes writing letters to the imprisoned Cuban revolutionaries (see information below) and organizing house meetings and forums on campuses and elsewhere to tell the truth about their case.

Spouse of jailed Cuban denied visa by U.S. gov't

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

The U.S. government has refused permission to Cuban citizen Olga Salanueva to visit René González, her imprisoned husband. González is one of the five Cuban revolutionaries serving jail sentences in the United States on frame-up charges of conspiracy to commit espionage. Ricardo Alarcón, the president of the Cuban National Assembly,

Hundreds demand gov't aid for workers in lower Manhattan



Militant/Jack Willey

June 5 rally in New York protesting denial of medical coverage for working people living and working in and around the World Trade Center since September 11.

BY JACK WILLEY

NEW YORK—Chanting, "What do we want? Health care! When do we want it? Now!" in Chinese, English, and Spanish, several hundred people marched through downtown Manhattan June 5. The action, called by a coalition of groups in the Beyond Ground Zero Network, demanded medical coverage and cash assistance for tens of thousands of working people who work and live near the former World Trade Center. Demonstrators carried signs in all three languages condemning the federal government's claim that toxic substances floating in the air for weeks after September 11 were safe to breathe.

The overwhelming majority of protesters were Chinese women from Chinatown. Latinos from the nearby Lower East Side neighborhood and working people who live in the area also joined in. They all live in neighborhoods north of the area that the federal government and Red Cross offer assistance to. Residents in the area earmarked for aid, known as "zone one," are largely wealthy and middle-class families.

Connie Kong, 19, who volunteers with the Chinese Staff and Workers' Association, said, "People are coming down with asthma, but they cannot afford health care and are not eligible for relief. We need to lift arbitrary lines that cut off whole areas of the city from being covered."

Diana Long, who worked at 3 World Financial Center, came with others from

the Cherry Street Tenant Association. "We live nine blocks away from Ground Zero and yet we were told the toxic air had dissipated by the time it drifted to us. But that stuff was all inside our apartments," she said.

Long pointed out that the Red Cross and the government's Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) provided full medical care and large sums of money to those living in zone one, which she lives outside of.

"If we buy a vacuum cleaner or an air purifier and keep the receipt, we will be reimbursed, but that is it," she said. "Many senior citizens have become sick since September 11 and two in our building have had infections. My friend's child started getting bloody noses since. We demand unlimited health services and that FEMA pay our outstanding medical bills."

Allia Hasan came with a contingent from Workers Awaaz (Workers Voice), a South Asian organization that helped sponsor the protest. She pointed out that undocumented workers are no longer eligible for benefits and have no access to Medicaid.

"Many South Asians didn't even know they were eligible for benefits because they do not read English, and many undocumented workers did not apply for fear of deportation," she said.

"There were many people without papers who worked in and around the World

Continued on Page 14

Write to the five Cuban revolutionaries

René González Sehwerert, Reg. #58738-004, FCI McKean, P.O. Box 8000, Bradford, Pennsylvania 16701

Antonio Guerrero Rodríguez, Reg. #58741-004, USP Florence, P.O. Box 7500, Florence, Colorado 81226

Gerardo Hernández (Manuel Viramontes), Reg. #58739-004, USP Lompoc, 3901 Klein Blvd., Lompoc, California 93436

Fernando González Llort (Rubén Campa), Reg. #58733-004, FCI Oxford, P.O. Box 1000, Oxford, Wisconsin 53952-0505

Ramón Labañino Salazar (Luis Medina), Reg. #58734-004, USP Beaumont, P.O. Box 26035, Beaumont, Texas 77720-6035

reported Washington's action at a solidarity conference in Havana at the beginning of May.

González and his four comrades were held in solitary confinement for long periods following their imprisonment in 1998. Nearly seven months after their conviction in June, they were sentenced to prison terms ranging from the 15 years received

by González to the two consecutive life terms imposed on Gerardo Hernández, who was convicted on the charge of conspiracy to commit murder. After the sentence was passed, the five were moved from the Miami Federal Detention Center to separate prisons in Colorado, California, Wisconsin, Texas, and Pennsylvania, where González is presently incarcerated. Born in the United States, González is a U.S. citizen.

Washington initially responded favorably to Salanueva's application, going so far as to issue her a visa, said Alarcón. She planned to take the couple's four-year-old daughter, who is a U.S. citizen, with her on the visit. On April 23, however, the decision was revoked.

Speaking to 300 conference delegates, Alarcón also reported that the appeal planned by the five revolutionaries against their imprisonment has been delayed by the refusal of the prosecution to turn over 150-200 key documents to lawyers for the defense. "The prosecution's failure to turn over the documents constitutes a tactic to delay the appeal," stated an article in the May 12 *Granma* International reporting on Alarcón's comments.

Israeli regime transforms its occupation

Continued from front page
slaughter in a May 29 statement. The April assault, she said, "hit the terrorist infrastructure hard, but it's clear that motivation has risen as a result and more suicide bombers have been created." Since the offensive ended one month ago, suicide bombings and other Palestinian military actions have taken the lives of 27 Israeli citizens.

Coinciding with a several-day occupation of Bethlehem in late May, the Israeli forces dug a trench more than five feet deep and five feet wide through the Palestinian olive groves surrounding much of the city. The soldiers erected a six-foot-high fence of barbed-wire coils beside the trench and bulldozed a dirt road alongside it.

Such modern-day moats are under construction across the West Bank, circling Jenin, Nablus, Tulkarm, Qalqilyah, Ramallah, Jericho, Hebron, and other refugee camps and cities.

Israel reinforces encirclement

With the ditches and fences the Israeli forces are reinforcing the network of military checkpoints that weaves among the Palestinian-administered areas, turning Palestinian areas that comprise less than one-fifth of the West Bank's area into walled prisons. Military checkpoints at which Palestinians are forced to stop to be searched number well over 150. The Israeli regime has also established "flying checkpoints" that can change without warning and introduced a system of travel permits for Palestinians between towns.

These steps increase the already institutionalized delays, inconveniences, and arbitrary police harassment associated with the Israeli presence. People line up for several hours, for example, to travel from Jerusalem to Ramallah. Such "official crossing points," reported the May 27 *Financial Times*, "have come to resemble international frontiers.... In the process, the Palestinian economy is grinding to a halt."

This "cantonisation," as the enforced isolation has been christened in the big-busi-

ness media, aims at increasing the Israeli armed forces' domination within the West Bank. Accompanying it are ongoing raids involving the destruction of Palestinian homes that allegedly include "bomb-making" factories and, more usually, the roundup of Palestinian men.

On May 31 and June 1, for example, Israeli troops and tanks rolled through the Balata refugee camp in the outskirts of Nablus, nearby Tamoun, and Qalqilyah. Using methods that have become all too familiar to West Bank Palestinians, Israeli troops in Balata ordered Palestinian men between the ages of 15 and 45 to present themselves. Holding their hands to the sky or clasped behind their heads, hundreds of Palestinians were herded into an open area, where soldiers checked their identity papers. Some of the detainees were handcuffed and blindfolded, while a number were carted away in trucks.

Students living near the Al-Najah university were among those arrested in Nablus itself. Saying they wished to cover themselves from Palestinian gunfire, Israeli forces moved from house to house by smashing holes in walls. Families were forced to move into a single room as soldiers commandeered their apartments for observation posts and sniper nests. Hundreds of Palestinians gathered to protest before being dispersed by the Israeli soldiers.

Palestinians told reporters that Israeli tanks had fired shells to knock out the city's electricity supply, and had killed a 24-year-old man who had allegedly tried to break

the military blockade. Two mines were set off under Israeli tanks, and Palestinians also threw rocks at the military vehicles, injuring one Israeli officer.

'Routine police work'

Israeli officials have dubbed these aggressive military actions "patrols" rather than "incursions." The new word suggests "not invasion but routine police work," noted the *New York Times*. "Israel has all but erased negotiated boundaries between territory controlled by its forces and territory controlled by Palestinian security," reported the paper.

Yuval Steinitz, a Likud Party representative who acts as a parliamentary spokesperson on "security" issues, had said a few days earlier, "I'm confident that there is a military solution, and by brute force we can completely, or almost completely, eradicate terrorism."

This public brushing aside of the Palestinian Authority is at odds with the approach of the Bush Administration, the principal backer of the Israeli government. In their media pronouncements, White House officials have emphasized their efforts to "reform" the PA security forces to more effectively clamp down on the resistance of the Palestinian people and the military activity of groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

In his present visit to the region, CIA director George Tenet, who helped to set up the Palestinian security forces under the 1993 Oslo agreement and subsequent negotiations, aims to "consolidate about a dozen Palestinian security forces and in-

crease their discipline and accountability," according to the *Times*.

In addition to meeting Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, Tenet will hold talks with Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in an attempt to revive the role of the Egyptian government in bringing pressure to bear on the Palestinian fighters.

Cairo has announced a plan to establish a Palestinian state next year, and follow it up with continued negotiations. The state would cover some 42 percent of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In other respects the plan appears similar to the proposals drawn up by Saudi Arabian officials and endorsed by an Arab League summit in March.

Middle East regimes seek to intervene

"The Arabs have spelled out at the Beirut summit their solidarity to make peace with Israel provided that Israel respect international law and UN resolutions," Lebanese prime minister Rarik Hariri told the *International Herald Tribune* May 30.

In the *Tribune's* summary of its interview with Hariri and Lebanese president Emile Lahoud, the Lebanese politicians "urged the United States to implement an Arab peace proposal that would recognize Israel's right to exist in exchange for the creation of a Palestinian state.... Lahoud said that the continued Israel-Palestinian instability was adding to Lebanon's economic woes by making people wary of investing in the country."

The bourgeois regimes of Iraq, Syria, and Iran are each continuing to use the Palestinian struggle to advance their own state interests in the region. In late May, for example, the Iranian government sponsored an international conference on the Palestinian struggle that brought together Iranian politicians with Islamic Jihad and the Hezbollah organization that operates in Lebanon. Both are backed by the Iranian government with arms and funds. Also attending was the Syrian-backed Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command.

For its part the Iraqi regime pays out \$25,000 cash grants to the families of suicide bombers, and \$10,000 to relatives of those who die in other military actions. In the past the Saudi government has also given money to suicide bombers' families.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Roots of the Crisis in the Catholic Church. Speaker: Greg McCartan, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 7, 7:30 p.m. 168 Bloomfield, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (973) 481-0077.

NEW YORK

Garment District

The Social Roots of the Crisis in the Catholic Church. Speaker: Angel Lariscy, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 7, 7:30 p.m. 545 8th Avenue, 14th Floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 693-7358.

Upper Manhattan

Oppose Washington's War Threats against North Korea. Speaker: Ruth Harris, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 7, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:30 p.m. 599 W. 187th Street, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Free the Cuban Five. Speaker: Alasdair McDonald, Young Socialists. Sun., June 16, 4:00 p.m. 1st floor, 3/281-287 Beamish St., Campsie. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 9718-9698.

—MILITANT/PM FUND EVENTS—

COLORADO

Craig

From Haiti to the U.S. and Canada: Prospects for Building an International Socialist Movement of Working People and Youth. Speaker: Rollande Girard, Socialist Workers Party, participant in May 17-18 meeting of university students and young socialists in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Sat., June 15, 7:30 p.m. 6 West Victory Way. Donation: \$5. Tel: (970) 826-0289.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Prospects For Building an International Socialist Movement of Working People and Youth. Speaker: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party, participant in fight by AMPAC meatpacking workers in Chicago for severance pay and dignity. Sun., June 16, Reception, 2:30 p.m., Program, 3:00 p.m., Buffet dinner, 4:30 p.m. 4208 W. Vernor. Donation: \$5 program, \$5 dinner. Tel: (313) 554-0504.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Eyewitness Report: Iran and the Fight against Imperialism. Speaker: Carmen James, frequent contributor to the *Militant*. Sat., June 15, Reception, 5:30 p.m., Program, 6:30 p.m. 5907 Penn Ave., Room 225. Donation: \$10 reception and program, \$5 program only. Tel: (412) 365-1090.

TEXAS

Houston

Cuba and the Coming American Revolution. Speaker: Olympia Newton, Young Socialists delegate to 40th Anniversary celebration of Union of Young Communists in Cuba, member of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists delegation to north Korea in April. Sat., June 15, 6:30 p.m. dinner, 7:30 p.m. program. 619 W. 8th St. Tel: (713) 869-6550.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

From Haiti to the United States: Prospects for Building an International Socialist Movement of Working People and Youth. Speaker: Arrin Hawkins, Young Socialists leader, participant in May 17-18 meeting of university students and young socialists in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Sat., June 8, 6:30 p.m. dinner 7:30 p.m. program. 3437 14th St., NW. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program. Tel: (202) 387-1590.

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Four years worse—"Nearly one of every three bridges is rated structurally deficient or functionally obsolete."—American Society of



Harry Ring

Civil Engineers, 1998 "Report Card" on U.S. infrastructure.

Capitalism at its finest—The Cooper Tire and Rubber company is being sued by two boys paralyzed in a 1998 car wreck. Their parents

were killed. The boys accuse the company of instructing employees to destroy records confirming the tires were defective.

A former quality engineering technician testified that she and a co-worker burned a vanload of records but had not been explicitly told to do so. A supervisor told her "a good employee would make sure they weren't there."

It figures—"More than 18,000 working-age adults died prematurely in 2000 because they lacked health insurance, according to a report by the Institute of Medicine.... Contrary to the popular view that people needing emergency medical care are treated equally regardless of their insurance status...even un-

insured auto-accident victims and heart-attack patients received fewer hospital services and were more likely to die than patients with insurance."—News item

P.S.—The known number of U.S. people without health insurance is put at 40 million, and growing.

Read it and rebel—In Philadelphia, 298 former prison inmates are suing the city for having been used as guinea pigs in medical experiments. The case is on hold while an appeals court considers throwing the case out on grounds that the statute of limitations had expired. One of the defendants is Dow Chemical which, in the Vietnam war, provided the U.S. warmakers

with the napalm—the jellied gasoline that burned men, women, and children alive.

Read it and retch—Commenting on the Philadelphia prisoners case, a Dow spokesman said the suit was the result of "applying what was common practice in the 1960s to 2002 eyes."

How's he doing in England?—A U.S. company has marketed dolls of Osama bin Laden, George Bush, and British Labour prime minister Anthony Blair. According to the *Times* of London, in the first six weeks the Bush and bin Laden doll sold well. Blair? Zero. Meanwhile, the U.S. feds are pondering if the depiction of Bush (somewhat bewildered) violates strict guidelines of

how the presidential persona is portrayed.

Relax kid, relax—"Milwaukee, WI.—Girls as young as eight are learning to cope with the frenetic pace of 21st Century life as they earn a 'Stress Less' badge to sport on their Girl Scout lapels. Anna Reardon 12, whose days are packed with sports, music, and school, said she practices breathing techniques, time management, and journal writing."

Trenton, N.J.—About 70 percent of the 20,300 school buses in New Jersey failed inspections in the past year, transportation officials said.... Forty percent had mechanical problems so serious they had to be taken out of service for repairs."—News item.

Conference on black lung discusses fight for benefits

BY TONY LANE

FLATWOODS, West Virginia—"Linda Chapman said that when she gets to Washington, she was going to tell Congress, 'Don't make me come back up here'" recalled United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) president Cecil Roberts at a miner's luncheon concluding a conference organized here for West Virginia black lung clinics.

Roberts was referring to the recent 500-mile "Widows Walk" from Charleston, West Virginia, to Washington, D.C., carried out by Linda Chapman and Phyllis Tipton. The action by the two women helped to publicize the plight of miners' widows who seek to secure black lung benefits. Rallies were organized for the walkers in West Virginia and Pennsylvania.

The conference of more than 70 people was attended by clinic workers from throughout West Virginia, plus a number of clinic staff from neighboring states. Also in attendance were members of the Black Lung Association, including its president Lewis Fitch and Linda Chapman.

At the luncheon, UMWA leaders spoke to some of the ongoing struggles that black lung activists face. Joe Main, UMWA health and safety director, highlighted the need to win support for the bill introduced to Congress at the end of the widows walk. Main explained that this legislation would restore automatic eligibility for widows.

Main also spoke out against the \$4.7 million budget cut slated for 2003 for the Mine Safety and Health Administration's (MSHA) coal enforcement program that includes eliminating the jobs of 65 full-time employees. The Miner's Choice x-ray program is also being axed. Main explained that this program is preferable to the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) screening program in which the coal operators select where the screening will take place. The MSHA program allows miners to make that choice. So far, two years of the five-year program aimed at covering miners throughout the country have elapsed.

Black lung does not always show up on x-rays. At the conference, Dr. Robert Cohen stated that 30 percent of black lung cases may not show up on x-rays. But the Miner's Choice program helps to bring the disease to the attention of individual miners. It documents the ongoing dust problems in coal mines and the fact that miners are still getting black lung today.

A NIOSH representative reported on the results of x-ray screening by NIOSH and MSHA from 1999–2002 of more than 30,000 underground and surface miners. Nearly 3 percent of underground and 2 percent of surface miners had indications of black lung.

Other data confirming that miners continue to contract black lung include a 1998 MSHA survey in Kentucky where MSHA reported 9.2 percent of underground miners and 6.8 percent of surface miners showed signs of black lung. In 2000, at one longwall mine in northern West Virginia, 26 out of around 400 miners were diagnosed with black lung disease.

Another confirmation of the continuing dust problems faced by coal miners was the grand jury indictments recently handed out to bosses at Robert Murray-owned KenAmerican Resources in Kentucky. The indictment charged four bosses with falsifying safety records and manipulating equipment used to monitor coal dust controls.

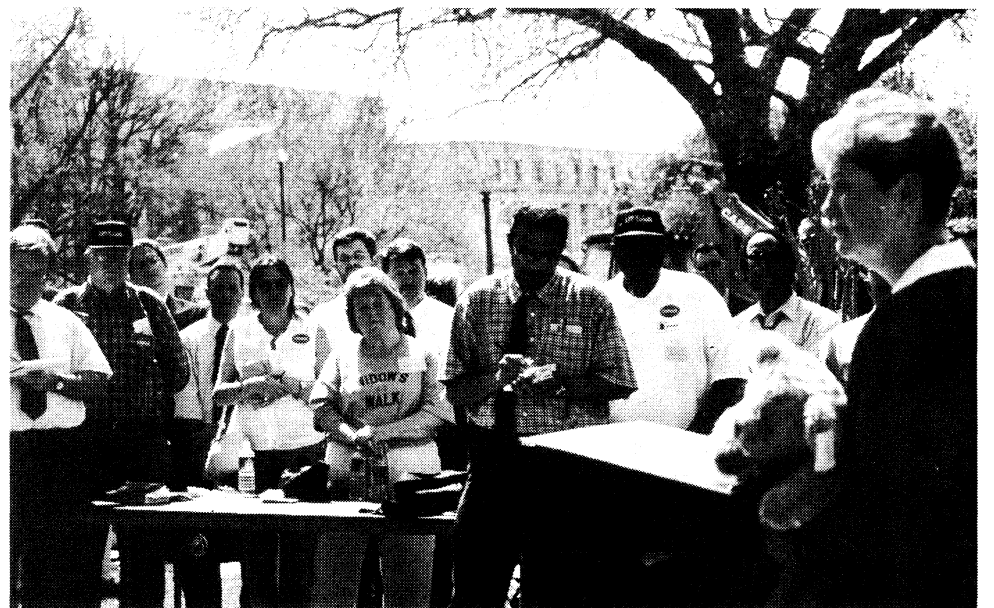
Increasing fatalities in the mines

Main also pointed to the increase in mine fatalities, with 2001 being the third year in a row marked by a rising number of deaths on the job. Main told the *UMWA Journal* that "more lives will be lost unless MSHA strengthens safety and health enforcement and improves the inspection process." Main led the UMWA investigation into the Brookwood mine disaster, which claimed the lives of 13 miners in September 2001. It was the worst mine disaster since the Wilberg fire of 1984.

UMWA general counsel Grant Crandall reviewed developments around new regulations concerning black lung benefits. He reported that more than 10,000 new claims have been filed since the regulations went into effect last year and that the initial number of approvals by the Labor Department was double the previous level. He also reported on the continuing 150 different challenges to the new regulations by the National Mining Association. Crandall said he was "cautiously optimistic" about the outcome of the challenges. "But it won't end, it's going to be fought every single time."

Informal discussion at the conference touched on many of the questions being debated in the coalfields, including recent flooding and the impact of mining and logging operations, and weight limits for coal trucks.

Anthony Warlick from eastern Kentucky told the *Militant* of the impact of strip mining operations in Pike and Lechter counties by TECO Energy, a Tampa-based electric power generator. He said over the last year and a half houses in the town of Roberts were hit by three times by water and mud after silt ponds had overflowed. The coal companies, he said, "are clear cutting the hillsides. When it rains there is nothing to hold it, and trees, rocks, and dirt come down." A residents organization held a protest after the latest flooding.



Linda Chapman (at right) speaking to reporters in Washington on April 16, 2002, after completing 500-mile "Widows' Walk" from Charleston, West Virginia, to the nation's capital, as part of fight to defend coal miners' right to obtain black lung benefits.

TECO's Premier Elkhorn mine was the subject of a grand jury investigation last year where residents complained about the impact of blasting at the mine and flooding from the sediment ponds. One resident explained that "a trailer is nothing but cardboard so you can imagine what blasting will do to it."

Another resident told the paper that five

feet of mud covered his yard when sediment ponds overflowed after heavy spring rains. Premier Elkhorn has been cited 243 times since 1993 by state environmental authorities for noncompliance with state regulations.

Tony Lane is a member of UMWA Local 1248 in southwestern Pennsylvania.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



June 18, 1977

NEW YORK—The Coalition to Save the Municipal Hospitals has called a city-wide demonstration against cutbacks and layoffs in the municipal hospital system. June 16 was the date set for the action.

The decision to form a coalition and call the protest was made at a June 5 meeting of thirty representatives of anticutback groups from seven different hospitals.

The meeting was called in response to the Health and Hospitals Corporation's decision to close four city hospitals by the end of June.

The coalition decided to organize the June 16 protest around the slogans "No closings of any hospitals," "No cutbacks in hospital services," "No layoffs," and "No compromises."

Protests focused at each of the individual hospitals have been only partially successful. That was one factor that motivated activists to form a city-wide coalition.

Another factor was the desire to link up with workers at the hospital, particularly American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 420. That union represents the municipal hospitals nonprofessional staff.

A strike by the largest union representing municipal hospital workers had the potential to unite the communities and other hospital unions in the fight and might have forced the city to reverse its plans.

But on June 3, top AFSCME leaders and city officials agreed to submit the question of layoffs to nonbinding arbitration and the strike was called off.



June 16, 1952

Two years of "Operation Killer" in Korea presents a grisly preview of what imperialism holds in store for humanity as it drives toward World War III.

To stem the tide of colonial revolt and the socialist struggle for emancipation from capitalism, Wall Street and its Pentagon butchers will stop at nothing.

On Kojé island the barbaric massacre of prisoners of war herded behind barbed wire is an act of enraged rulers determined to drown the revolutionary spirit of the Asian people in their own blood.

Millions of Koreans have been slaughtered, whole villages and cities incinerated by napalm bombs. From June 25, 1950, to this very day, imperialism has been systematically destroying Korea. Rather than allow the Korean revolution to achieve the independence of that nation, to drive out the landlords and erect a new society, American capitalism is exterminating the people and laying waste their land.

This counterrevolutionary war has been "limited." But that is only for the time being.

If imperialism has its way the earth will soon be engulfed in the flames of global war. To impose the rule of the dollar against rule by the people, the U.S. atom-imperialists will find themselves compelled to try to put all humanity into stockades, like those on Kojé.

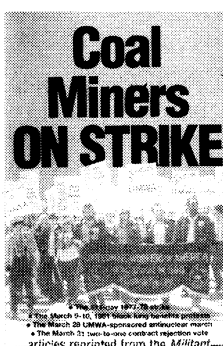
But Korea is not only a ghastly preview of the future toward which U.S. imperialism is plunging the world: it is also a promise of the invincible power of a revolutionary humanity inspired with an idea.

from Pathfinder

Coal Miners on Strike

Articles on: the 111-day 1977–78 strike, the 1981 strike and the contract rejection vote, the United Mine Workers of America and the fight against nuclear power, the fight for health benefits and compensation to black lung victims, and more. \$5

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Expansion of FBI powers

Continued from front page

hand in hand with other steps, such as the attempt in the Big Apple to enroll landlords and real estate executives into snooping operations at apartment buildings to spot "terrorist tenants." With 40 percent of the population of New York City born in another country, the police have an uphill battle in whipping up many people to start turning in "suspicious" characters. But the threat is real and working people will be victimized by the police-landlord operation. More likely than not it will be used by landlords to throw people out in order to hike the rent a little more.

In taking these steps the U.S. rulers are building on the bipartisan assault against working people organized under the Clinton administration. Clinton expanded the Immigration and Naturalization Service and its use of powers exempt from judicial review, expanded "preventive detention" based on "secret evidence," established a "counterintelligence czar," and other steps to erode workers' rights.

Widening FBI powers is ultimately aimed at all working people who get involved in a course of action to defend their class interests against the employers and their government. As an attorney from the Center for Constitutional Rights posed it, this would be a serious erosion of civil liberties if "every discussion group needed to be concerned that the FBI is listening in on its public discussions or attending its public meetings."

The FBI's Cointelpro operation was a disruption pro-

gram carried out in the 1950s and 1960s to hold back the gains won under the impact of tens of thousands getting involved in the Black-led fight for civil rights. The use of informers, agent provocateurs, wiretapping, burglarizing of offices, and the blacklisting and firing of individuals from jobs were all part of the dirty tricks used by government agents against participants in the struggle for Black rights, the movement against the Vietnam War, and other organizations opposed to U.S. government policies.

The exposure of the disruption and the extent of government spying and its class character was a gain for the working class. The ability of the cops to openly try to intimidate, threaten, and get people fired was pushed back. This strengthened the ability of the unions and other organizations to keep the government out of their affairs.

The rulers did win support among liberals who seek greater state and police intervention in the name of "security." Those who champion workers' right should not be surprised by this, however. It was also liberal defenders of U.S. imperialism who were the architects and engineers who built the international machinery of spying and counterrevolution that became the CIA. The liberals always want reforms—some that extend, some that restrict democratic rights—in order to preserve capitalism.

For working people there is no security under capitalism. This is true from the economic crisis of the capitalist system to the harsher measures the rulers will use to defend and try to salvage their system in face of rising struggles of workers and farmers.

Support Cubans framed by U.S.

U.S. authorities should immediately release Juan Emilio Aboy, who was arrested May 30 in Miami by FBI and INS cops on charges of "spying" for Cuba. In a back-handed admission that they have no case, federal officials have decided not to present their "evidence" in a court of law, instead announcing that they plan to deport him on immigration charges requiring a "lesser level of proof." Such trampling of basic rights is an outrage all too familiar to many working people framed by the cops, and phony immigration court "hearings" are particularly well-known to workers threatened with deportation. Aboy is already being tried, convicted, and smeared by the big-business media, which repeats the assertions of U.S. agents as though they were facts.

The U.S. government and capitalist politicians are using the sensationalist publicity around the arrest of Aboy to slander the Cuban Revolution and to continue their campaign to justify the frame-up of five Cuban revolutionaries who are currently serving long sentences in federal prisons: René González, Antonio Guerrero, Gerardo Hernández, Fernando González, and Ramón Labañino.

Like Aboy, the five were accused of espionage for the Cuban government. Their real crime, however, was defending their country and revolution. As the five patriots have explained time and again, they were gathering information on the activities of counterrevolutionary groups that operate on U.S. soil with Washington's knowledge and complicity and have a record of violent attacks on Cuba.

The U.S. authorities have handed out severe punishment to the five Cuban revolutionaries. During the more than two years the Cubans were in jail before the case came to trial, 17 months were spent in solitary confinement. No sooner did the court hand down harsh jail terms last December, than the prisoners were separated into fed-

eral prisons thousands of miles apart. They are now serving between 15 years and a double life sentence.

With this brutal treatment U.S. officials have sought to break the spirit of the five Cubans. To the same end, they recently arbitrarily prevented the wife and child of René González from traveling to the United States to visit him. Meanwhile, federal prosecutors are stalling defense lawyers' efforts to prepare appeals against the sentencing by refusing to hand over papers needed by the defense.

In spite of this, the five patriots have not budged an inch from championing the Cuban Revolution, of which they themselves are a product. Several of them, for example, fought in Angola as volunteer combatants when Cuba helped that African nation defeat invasions by the South African apartheid regime's army. Their revolutionary record and conduct under fire—including in the dungeons of U.S. imperialism—have won the respect of millions of their countrypeople and the support of Cuba's revolutionary government.

Working people in this country have a stake in demanding the release of the five imprisoned patriots as well as Aboy. These frame-ups take place at a time when the wealthy U.S. rulers are seeking to expand the spying, harassment, and disruption operations of the FBI, INS, and other political police agencies. They do so in the name of fighting "terrorism" and "spying," but in fact they are preparing to use the police, courts, and prisons against working people and others who resist the escalating assault by the employer class on workers and farmers.

We should also demand an end to all the abusive restrictions on travel and visits by family members of the five, as well as the immediate release by the prosecution of documents vital to the preparation of the appeal. Free them now!

U.S. backs Bogotá's war

Continued from Page 16

400 U.S. military and 400 civilian personnel in the country training and operating with the Colombian government forces.

The Bush administration is pressing to end Congressional restrictions on aid to Colombia to allow Bogotá to use the helicopters and other equipment in its war on the rebel forces. "We need the resources from Plan Colombia, the helicopters and equipment" Uribe told the press prior to the voting.

Since the election, vice-president-elect Santos has requested further aid. "We need you guys," he said. "I know you have big problems in the Middle East and Afghanistan, but this is the backyard. And the backyard is on fire." He continued, "We don't need your troops. But we need help with intelligence, with communications, with training, with weapons—everything you can give us."

The Bush administration is providing \$98 million to train an elite rapid response brigade to protect Los Angeles-based Occidental Petroleum's oil pipeline that runs from the interior of Colombia to the coast.

Uribe has suggested that he may also call on the United Nations to send in troops to help prop up the Colombian regime.

Workers demand aid

Continued from Page 11

Trade Center, and they are being left in the cold," she said.

Residents of Battery Park City and TriBeCa, where the median household income is \$125,000 are eligible for \$14,500 in grants. But in Chinatown, where average household income is only a third of that in TriBeCa, the most a family can receive is \$7,750. North of Canal Street the figure drops to \$1,750.

Many big businesses are receiving the lion's share of the federal funds. About \$500 million is being handed over by the government to 145 corporations in Lower Manhattan, just for keeping their businesses located there. American Express, for example, received a cool \$25 million for "agreeing" to keep 4,000 employees located in the area.

Correction

In the front page article, "Vancouver union rally opposes gov't cutbacks" in issue no. 23, the rally in Victoria February 23 was 30,000, not 300,000; the teacher quoted is from Burnaby, not Brunbury.

Justice Dept.

Continued from Page 6

lessons of the Moussaoui case is that it sometimes works." Young Arab men, he opined, "are more likely to ram planes into nuclear power plants...and as such they should be more vigorously searched." He pointed to the effectiveness of El Al, the Israeli airline, where security is "all about racial profiling."

A federal grand jury charged Moussaoui with conspiring to plan the September 11 attacks without presenting any evidence that he ever communicated with those involved. The Justice Department announced in March that it would seek the death penalty against him, despite the fact that he was in prison at the time.

New FBI powers

The Justice Department's expansion of the powers of the FBI builds on the bipartisan USA Patriot Act passed last October. The act contains a host of assaults on workers' rights and wider powers for secret police agencies to spy on, frame up, and win convictions of working people.

Among the measures the legislation allows is for police to sneak into someone's home or office without telling them; expanded authority for cops to wiretap phones and electronic communications; dropping of the prohibition on domestic CIA spying; and detention without charges of immigrants detained as "terrorist suspects" for successive six-month periods.

The definition of a terrorist act is so broad that even throwing a rock through a window could fall into the category, according to Jeanne Butterfield, executive director of the American Immigration Lawyers Association.

The new Justice Department memorandum gives FBI field offices the go-ahead to send agents to public events and pursue other previously unauthorized activity if they involve "activities under the USA Patriot Act," Ashcroft said.

The day before the attorney general announced the lifting of restrictions on the FBI, Mueller said the spy agency had to "fundamentally change." The restructuring included reassigning agents from the "war on drugs" to the "war on terrorism." He stated that around 480 of the agency's 11,500 field agents would be transferred from narcotics and other investigations to the counterterrorism unit, increasing it to 2,600 spies. Mueller also called for establishing "flying squads to coordinate national and international investigations."

Last November the White House openly began moves to revise guidelines imposed on the FBI in the 1970s in the wake of the Watergate crisis. At the time the U.S. rulers were pushed back in their justification of the widespread domestic spying program called Cointelpro, which was used to disrupt the movement against the Vietnam War, the Black Panther Party and other civil rights organizations, the Socialist Workers Party, and other political groups.

Under the old guidelines, the FBI, an agency under the Justice Department, could not send undercover agents to spy on groups that gather at mosques or churches unless they have probable cause or evidence that indicates someone in the group has already committed a crime.

"There is a real cost to the openness of a free political society if every discussion group needs to be concerned that the FBI is listening in on its public discussions or attending its public meetings," said David Cole, a law professor at Georgetown University and an attorney with the Center for Constitutional Rights.

New witch-hunt targets Arabs

Washington's antiterror campaign has laid the groundwork for a new witch-hunt aimed initially at Arab men. This was highlighted in remarks by the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Democratic senator Robert Graham. "We had an instance in which 25 extremists, as they were described, jumped on ships outside of the United States, hid in the container cargoes until they got to the United States, and then disembarked," Graham claimed in a May 20 interview on CNN. Now "they've been lost in the American population."

Graham's assertion, based on alleged information from the U.S. Coast Guard that the men were from the Middle East, was not confirmed, one Congressional aide emphasized.

In case the senator needed clues on possible places to search for "extremists," a spokesman from the FBI's New York office said the bureau had been preparing to warn landlords of threats against apartment buildings. According to the *Times*, about 250 landlords and representatives of building owners scheduled a meeting with cops to discuss ways "to keep their property safe from terrorists." The group will meet at the Police Plaza to review topics such as residential identification cards, surveillance cameras, and "how to spot and report suspicious activity."

The erosion of civil liberties spearheaded by Ashcroft and Mueller was denounced by conservative columnist William Safire as a "fraud." He complained that the FBI's "rules of intrusion" were done by "executive fiat" with no "public discussion, no Congressional action, no judicial guidance."

Israeli occupation deprived Palestinians of their land

Printed below is an excerpt from *Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation* by Fred Feldman and Georges Sayad. This is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for June. The item quoted is from the chapter titled "The West Bank and Gaza: a cheap labor pool for Israeli capitalists," which originally appeared in the *Militant* in the late 1980s. Copyright © 1989 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY GEORGES SAYAD

When Israel invaded its Arab neighbors in 1967, it not only sought to capture land but to incorporate more than one million Palestinians into the Israeli work force. Mili-

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

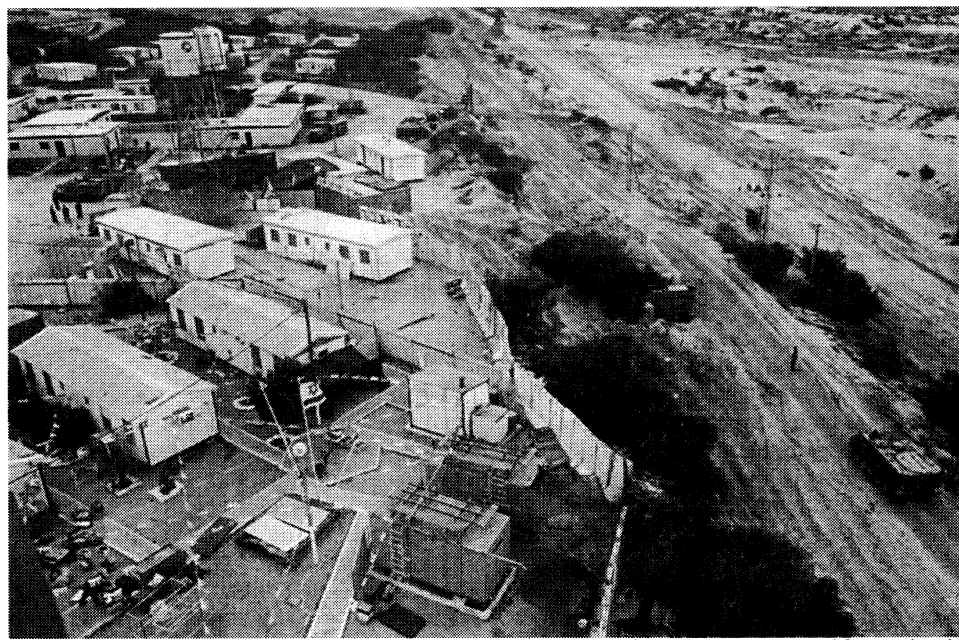
tary rule was established in the most populous of the conquered territories, limiting the people's ability to resist measures designed to drive them off their land and into Israeli factories. At the very heart of this process were the Israeli regime's land and water policies, which effectively bankrupted the Palestinian farmers.

In 1968 some 50 percent of the West Bank labor force was in agriculture. This was comprised of small farmers who owned their land, sharecroppers, and agricultural wage workers. By 1980 the figure had dropped to 26.3 percent.

In the Gaza Strip, where the level of economic development was lower, the economy centered on citrus plantations employing wage labor. Agriculture accounted for 90 percent of exports and 40 percent of employment. But by 1980 only 18.3 percent of the work force was in agriculture.

As of 1980 more than 49 percent of the total active labor force in the West Bank and Gaza was employed across the pre-1967 borders. In the Gaza Strip alone, it was 65 percent.

After the 1967 conquests, the Israeli military administration began wholesale expropriations of Palestinians' land. By 1981 one-



Armored personnel carrier patrols a road along Israeli settlement near Netzarim in the Gaza Strip. The settlements are built with military considerations in the forefront. They resemble forts more than farming communities, and are strategically located amid clusters of Palestinian villages to keep the latter separated and terrorized.

third of the land in the West Bank had been taken out of Palestinian hands. The usual procedure was for the army to declare an area indispensable to security, seal it off, and force the farmers off the land. Fraudulent sales were engineered, taking advantage of the fact that incomplete record-keeping under the Ottoman Empire and British colonial rule often made it impossible for Palestinians to prove title even though their families had worked the land for generations. Israeli policies also blocked farmers from using their land. The military government then confiscated it because it had been left fallow. Some villages lost half their land to Israeli confiscations. Those farmers who resisted faced arrest for "terrorist activity," destruction of their homes, expulsion from the country, or spraying of their crops with defoliants.

Much of the confiscated land was turned over to Israeli settlements. By 1988 there were 130 in the West Bank and Gaza. In Gaza, one-third of the land had been turned over to some three thousand settlers. With military considerations in the forefront, the settlements are built on hilltops overlook-

ing Palestinian villages. Surrounded by huge coils of barbed wire, they resemble forts more than farming communities, and are strategically located amid clusters of Palestinian villages to keep the latter separated and terrorized. The settlers, often right-wing émigrés from the United States, are armed. They get aid from the government and from Zionist organizations.

Discriminatory water policy

Land confiscation has also produced a marked deterioration in the quality of the remaining Palestinian-owned land, which is being overgrazed. The declining quality of the land lays the basis for forcing more impoverished farmers off the land and into the bosses' pool of cheap labor.

Outright confiscation is supplemented by

a discriminatory and restrictive water policy. "Palestinians are strictly forbidden," reports Palestinian professor Yusif Sayigh in the summer 1986 *Journal of Palestine Studies*, "to develop any springs or other surface or underground water reserves not already tapped and under utilization at the time of occupation in 1967; to utilize any quantities of water in excess of those drawn and utilized in 1967 in already developed sources; or further to develop wells already in use. Thus, while villages are deprived of their vital well and spring water and underground reserves, neighboring Jewish settlements, built on expropriated Palestinian land, can be seen to enjoy the luxury of spacious swimming pools, as well as abundant piped water for agriculture, industry, and domestic use." In 1985 settlers in Gaza consumed 3,040 cubic yards of water per capita, while Palestinians consumed 161.

The military authorities have also barred the planting of fruit trees on a commercial scale without a permit, and such permits are rarely granted. This especially targets Palestinian olive, citrus, and other fruit farmers who must replace aging orchards; the citrus growers of the Gaza Strip have been particularly hurt. Numerous orchards have been uprooted by the military.

The Israeli regime has imposed a land tax, value-added tax, and export tax on Palestinian agricultural products while Israeli farmers get tax breaks, subsidies, and credit unavailable to Palestinians. Interest rates on loans to Gaza's Palestinian farmers in 1985 were running at 36 percent per year for borrowing U.S. dollars, and 95 percent for borrowing Israeli shekels. Arab banks have by and large been closed by military order.

With the advent of Israeli military rule, the traditional export markets for products from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip were closed. The regime prohibits exports of West Bank and Gaza products to Western Europe since these would compete with products made in Israel.

LETTERS

New map needed

I was just reading the very interesting article on Argentina in the June 3 issue and I noted that the map included with the article lists "Las Malvinas" as the Falkland Islands (UK). I am sure this is an oversight considering the *Militant's* long-standing support for Argentina's sovereignty over the Malvinas.

However, this is a very important political error. Those of us who support Argentina's sovereignty will look forward to your correction of the map. In addition, the map quality is not good, making it difficult to distinguish the borders between Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay.

Alejandra Rincon
Houston, Texas

History of National Front

There is one point in the May 20 editorial on the French elections that, while not central, needs correction. It has to do with the split in the National Front (NF) in 1999. The editorial explains the stagnation of these fascist forces, and its crisis. However, it seems to have gotten the two sides mixed up, characterizing Le Pen as more desiring respectability and Bruno Megret, who Le Pen threw out of the party, as opposing that.

Megret, who was generally presented as the number two leader of the NF at the time of the split, came to the National Front from the traditional right-wing parties. He went through an elite school that Balladur, Chirac, Jospin, and a large number of French cabinet members graduate from, and was generally seen as wanting a more "respectable" National Front, with which it would be easier to get the right-wing parties to ally with. Le Pen pooh-poohed such alliances.

I remember seeing Le Pen's former head of public relations, who has since broken with him, explaining that Le Pen would purposefully throw out anti-Semitic one-liners and other statements that showed clearly what he was about in order to discourage FN hangers-on who were simply looking for a quick meal ticket. Le Pen was looking for people he could use to really build a fascist cadre. Megret was reputed to detest these remarks.

Le Pen has traditionally also belittled the importance of local elections, which

Megret's party places prime importance on. It was widely reported that Megret took with him the majority of the FN cadres during the split, and that he probably had a majority of the party with him when Le Pen kicked him out. However, Bonapartist formations don't go very far without the Bonaparte, and Megret's party has been having a tough time since the split, always scoring way below Le Pen.

Derek Jeffers
Paris, France

Birmingham conviction

Bobby Frank Cherry was recently convicted of planting the bomb that killed four Black children in a Birmingham church in 1963. Sarah Collins Rudolph, who was injured in the blast and whose sister was killed, noted "it was a long time" coming. The *New York Times* report alleged that the reason for the long delay was that the "brittle silence" protecting them "cracked only when they boasted of their involvement.... It was largely that boasting...that convicted them."

This is false. Bobby Cherry has been bragging about his crimes for 38 years, confident that he had nothing to worry about, as the local, state, and federal authorities supported his cause. The FBI decided to turn on its own and convict Bobby Cherry simply because the government finds it useful in today's political context to polish the FBI's "democratic" credentials so as better to be able to attack democratic rights across the board, under the guise this time of "fighting terrorism." There is no honor among thieves.

Robert Dees
Palo Alto, California

Profits are necessary

I enjoy reading your paper for its different point of view of the world. However, I have frequently noticed that your writers seem to ignore the fact that if a business doesn't earn a profit, it can't employ its workers. For example, rather than the steelworkers at LTV agreeing not to take a \$1.50 wage increase, they should have agreed to take a wage decrease along with the option to purchase stock. This way the firm is more likely not to go bankrupt and throw everyone out of work.

Michael Camiolo
by e-mail

June BOOKS OF THE MONTH

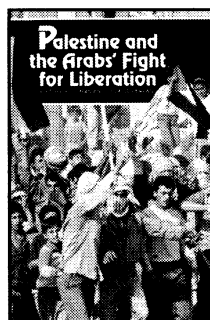
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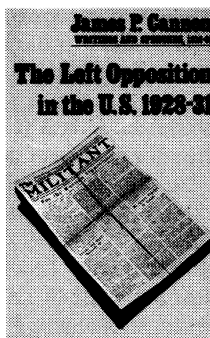
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London seeks fast deportations, more low-wage temp workers

BY ANTONIS PARTASIS

LONDON—In a continuing assault on workers' rights, Labour government home secretary David Blunkett unveiled plans May 30 to deport people seeking asylum in the United Kingdom within days of their claims being rejected. At the same time, London says it will seek to expand temporary visas for young people and agricultural workers in order to supply a cheap labor force to the country's industrial bosses.

Blunkett said that people he described as "the most blatantly bogus applicants" should be thrown out immediately. They would then be forced to launch any appeal against their expulsion from abroad. The government has set a target of expelling some 30,000 people next year and plans to build prison camps in which to jail immigrants seeking asylum in order to quickly deport them once their claims are turned down.

The government also proposed the deployment of British navy warships to intercept boats with refugees on board, and use of Royal Air Force planes for "bulk" deportations.

During a May 20 meeting at Downing Street, British prime minister Anthony Blair won agreement from José Maria Aznar, Spain's prime minister and current president of the European Union (EU), to place the issue of asylum and immigration at the top of the agenda at this month's European summit in Seville.

The government's moves against immigrant workers, with bipartisan support from the Tories, comes in the context of harsh restrictions proposed last year in the name of "the war against terrorism."

These included detention without trial—called internment here—of foreign nationals who are suspected of "terrorism" by the authorities but who cannot be deported under the asylum legislation because they would face torture or death if returned to their country of origin.

Those detained are not informed of the evidence against them, and their cases are reviewed only after six months. Hearings on the charges are held without the press or public present and any appeals are restricted to points of law. The law allows the substance of asylum claims made by "terrorist suspects" to be ignored.

The legislation also gives police extended powers to photograph and fingerprint people, and to oblige protesters to remove disguises. The cops can now force communications service providers to turn over data such as e-mail and mobile phone logs, and airlines to hand over any information about passengers and freight.

Teachers in New Zealand stage strikes and protests for a contract

BY TERRY LYNCH

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—High school teachers throughout New Zealand are carrying out a sustained campaign of actions in their 14-month fight for an acceptable contract.

Late last year officials of the Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA) and the Labour Party-led coalition government agreed to a pact which would have given teachers a 3.5 per cent wage increase over two years. The deal included provisions aimed at relieving teachers' increasing workloads. In February 56 percent of teachers rejected this agreement in a national vote.

On March 1 teachers held a one-day national strike, following this up in April with region-by-region one-day rolling stoppages.

Around 100 teachers participated in a May Day march in Auckland, and teachers played a prominent part in other actions marking the labor anniversary around the country.

In mid-May the government announced that a new deal had been reached with the

The bill also calls for granting the secretary of state the power to proscribe organizations and name offenses related to association with such organizations, and to extend detention prior to charges being laid in cases the government deems related to terrorism.

Claims system is 'swamped'

In announcing the new measures, Blunkett conducted a series of interviews, seeking to whip up anti-immigration sentiment. He said that asylum-seekers were "swamping" some British schools in a conscious echo of former prime minister Margaret Thatcher's famous "being swamped by an alien culture" remarks. He told BBC's "World Tonight" program, "We have at the moment almost an epidemic of judicial review."

Blunkett praised the anti-Islamic campaign of recently assassinated Dutch rightist Pim Fortuyn. The Home Secretary said that, like Fortuyn, he believed in "diversity through integration." Blunkett also railed against Muslim arranged marriages, comparing them to the "backward looking practices of the aristocracy in medieval England."

Asked by the interviewer Robin Lustig what he thought of the compatibility of Islam with modern society, Blunkett said that this "was a point Pim Fortuyn in his more rational moments was making in the lead-up to his assassination.... In my own constituency I talk to people who are not racist, who are not bigots. They fear and they fear things going wrong, things that are disintegrating that they see on their telly [television]. And I do actually have to say that the images we sometimes see...of what's happening, for instance, from Sangatte and through the tunnel, does not help in order to get that balance right." Sangatte is a refugee center in Calais, France, that London is demanding be closed down near the entrance to the French-English Channel Tunnel.

U.S. imperialism backs Bogota's war

BY JACK WILLEY

With promises to use a "hard hand," Alvaro Uribe Vélez was elected president of Colombia in a landslide vote May 26. Under the banner of "fighting terrorism" and the drug trade, Uribe's campaign called for doubling Colombia's military and police forces, building a network of informants, and seeking greater military and economic

PPTA national officials. It included a 5.5 wage increase over three years. The government offered a special allowance to compensate teachers for the extra work they are required to perform in implementing the National Certificate of Education Achievement, a new system of assessing students which replaces national examinations.

The proposed agreement, which was portrayed as a "settlement," came on the eve of the May 18-19 national conference of the Labour Party, and was widely viewed as having been pushed through to avert protests by teachers at the gathering. With Labour registering more than 50 percent support in opinion polls, there have been growing rumors that the date of this year's general election will be moved up to July or August.

Many teachers, however, greeted the supposed "settlement" with anger. Over the following week teachers at 50 schools staged spontaneous one-day or half-day strikes. In

Continued on Page 7

Blunkett was praised by right-wing Tory Norman Tebbit for his anti-immigrant measures. Tebbit said that Blunkett and he shared a common understanding that "multiculturalism" was both undesirable and unworkable. As a member of Thatcher's government in the 1980s, Tebbit famously insisted that immigrants should face a "cricket test" in which they should be welcomed only if they supported the English cricket team against teams from the Indian subcontinent or the West Indies.

Blunkett is less sporting, proposing to force asylum-seekers to learn English, take citizenship lessons, and swear an oath of allegiance before they can receive full British citizenship.

The government is also campaigning around claims that the budget for processing asylum cases and related expenses is rising. This received a boost when a judge ruled in favor of the Birmingham City Council's move to have dozens of Dutch nationals of Somali origin thrown out of the country. The families will now have to return to the Netherlands in breach of EU free movement laws. The judge justified the ruling on the basis of the Birmingham council's "limited resources."

More visas for low-paid jobs

The government's assault on the rights of immigrant workers is not designed to halt immigration. In fact, Blunkett, in a parallel move, has announced plans to increase the number of immigrant workers admitted to the country to be employed in low-paid seasonal jobs.

Currently 40,000 17-27 year olds from Commonwealth countries—the vast majority from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa—are admitted on two-year work permits. Another 20,000 seasonal workers from Eastern Europe are admitted on six-month visas to work as agricultural laborers to pick and process fruit, flowers, and vegetables. The government is planning to significantly increase the number of im-

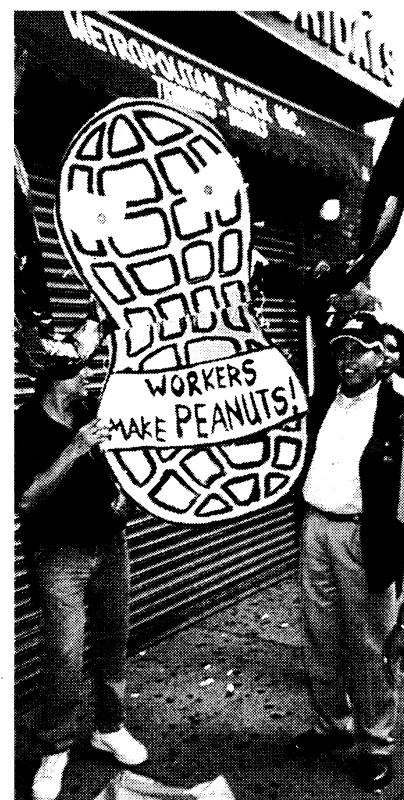
support from Washington.

Colombia has been embroiled in a nearly 40-year civil war that has devastated the countryside and taken the lives of some 34,000 people each year. Claiming to fight against the "drug trade," successive governments have waged military campaigns against the opposition guerrilla army, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), which controls large swaths of the country.

The rightist paramilitary United Self-Defense Forces, supported by many army officers and funded by wealthy landowners, has terrorized working people in the countryside for years, massacring thousands of peasant leaders, trade unionists, and supporters of the FARC.

In the elections, Uribe, who projected himself as an outsider from capitalist politics, ran for president under a party he created, Colombia First. The former Harvard and Oxford student defeated candidates from the two main political parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals. His vice-presidential running mate, Francisco Santos, hails from the millionaire family that owns *El Tiempo*, the main big-business paper in Colombia. Santos has built himself up as a crusader against "lawlessness and violence" after being kidnapped a decade ago by one of drug kingpin Pablo Escobar's gangs.

The president-elect ran on a platform of using military might and cracking down on democratic rights in order to deal death blows to the FARC and to dismantle the paramilitary forces. Uribe promised to double both the size of the army's combat force to 100,000 troops and the National Police to 200,000. He projected building a million-member civilian force of government informers, ex-



Militant
Workers at several green grocers and deli stores in New York City have been pressing their demand for a union. The workers, in their majority immigrants, are forced to work long hours for very low wages.

migrant workers admitted under both schemes. The programs are called the Working Holidaymakers and Seasonal Agricultural Workers schemes.

In a telltale op-ed article in the May 13 *Financial Times*, Quentin Peel explained that British capitalism needs cheap labor from abroad, as do other European countries. "The euro area faces rapidly aging population," Peel wrote. "By 2015, one in five of the population will be aged 65 or older...the effective ban on official immigration in Europe for the past three decades has simply made hundreds of thousands would-be migrants illegal." The annual inflow of immigrants to Europe is estimated at between 300,000 and 500,000.

panding the state's powers to detain those branded as "terrorists," and enabling the government to use wiretaps of phones and electronic communications.

Uribe announced he would negotiate with the FARC and the paramilitaries if they each declared a cease-fire. Many Colombians see the announcement as a move to take a softer approach to the paramilitaries. Uribe is closely associated with military officers responsible for abuses against working people and publicly works with ultrarightist Colombians.

Washington offers military weaponry

Washington eagerly embraced the president-elect. Ambassador Anne Patterson visited the winner's campaign headquarters just hours after polls closed, and reaffirmed the U.S. rulers' backing of Bogotá's military campaign to deal blows to the FARC.

"Colombia and the U.S. have many big issues to deal with, drug trafficking, human rights and the fight against terrorism," she said.

The U.S. government has used Bogotá's "anti-drug" rhetoric to pour billions of dollars into the Colombian military's brutal campaign against the FARC, a smaller guerrilla group called the National Liberation Army, and others who oppose the regime.

Colombia is the third largest recipient of U.S. military aid, after Israel and Egypt. Congress passed a \$1.3 billion infusion of funds engineered by the Clinton administration for training army battalions, and sent 18 Blackhawk helicopters, 42 Huey military transports, and other war matériel as part of "Plan Colombia." There are some

Continued on Page 14